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CHURCH HISTORY HANDBOOKS

BOOK II

THE PERIOD OF THE REFORMATION

HENRY C. VEDDER

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The Period of the Reformation

By

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CHURCH HISTORY HANDBOOKS

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The Period of the Reformation

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FOREWORD

It is an age of condensation. The most important messages, to command attention, must compact themselves into narrow space. In obedience to this demand these handbooks are sent forth. For our study classes and training schools, for rapid consultation in the busy pastor's study, and for collateral work among our Bible students they will be found invaluable. The attempt has been made to include all essential historic facts, while the extensive bibliography on the various themes will supplement any needful omission.

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CHAPTER I

PREPARATIONS FOR A REFORMATION

In this chapter we shall consider not only the formal protests against the increasing corruptions of doctrine and life in the Roman Catholic Church that preceded the Reformation, but certain favoring conditions that tended to make the protest of the sixteenth century successful where others had failed.

1. Arnold of Brescia

One of the earliest of these unsuccessful protests was made by a priest of Brescia, one of the free Italian cities. We know little of Arnold before he began his work, except that he had been a pupil of Abelard at Paris. About the year 1130 his eloquence made a great stir in his native city. He denounced the corruptions of the Church, the vices of the clergy, and urged men to live after the precepts of Christ. The clergy, he said, should renounce their worldly possessions, for the root of the evils in the Church was its connection with the State. He was banished and forbidden to preach. He joined his former teacher, and was condemned with Abelard at the Council of Sens, in 1141. He appeared in Rome in 1145, at a time of revolution, and became the leader in an attempt to restore the

old Roman republic, in which Church and State should be separate. By the intervention of Emperor Frederick II, Rome was retaken and the pope was restored, and Arnold was put to death, his body being burned and his ashes cast into the Tiber. Italy was not ripe for such a civil and religious revolution as he advocated, but the teachings of Arnold were never forgotten. His followers, known as Arnoldists, remained in Italy for some time.

2. The Petrobrusians

At about the same time a heretical sect, called Petrobrusians, became very numerous in Southern France. They were named from Peter of Bruis, their founder, who preached the gospel with great success for twenty years in that region, and was put to death in 1126. From Roman Catholic writers we learn that the Petrobrusians taught a remarkably evangelical doctrine. They insisted on the supreme authority of Scripture, and refused to acknowledge the authority of Fathers and councils. They held that the baptism of infants is a meaningless form, and that only believers should receive baptism. They said that God could be worshiped as well in wood and field, or in private houses, as in churches; that the cross ought not to be adored; that bread and wine are not changed into the body and blood of Christ in the Lord's Supper; that prayers, alms, and other good works for the dead do not profit them at all. For these and other like "errors," the

Church persecuted these heretics with great severity.

3. The Henricians

A successor of Peter of Bruis was Henry of Lausanne, a former monk of Clugny, who preached many years in the same region. His eloquence was celebrated, and we learn from Bernard that he won a great following. He was captured about 1148, and condemned by the Synod of Rheims to perpetual imprisonment, and is supposed to have died about two years afterward. The persecutions of the Petrobrusians and Henricians resulted in their gradual suppression, and the remnants of them were absorbed into other sects.

4. The Waldenses

About 1150 a rich merchant of Lyons, Peter Waldo, was converted. Knowing little Latin, he hired two priests to translate the Gospels and some other portions of Scripture into his vernacular, and committed large portions of them to memory. Another priest to whom he applied for religious instruction told him that the perfect life was obedience to Christ's words, "Sell all that thou hast and give to the poor, and come, follow me." He obeyed literally, and began telling the story of his conversion and reciting passages of the Gospels to all who would listen. Soon he made many converts, some of whom became preachers like himself. The priests

became alarmed, and the Archbishop of Lyons forbade Waldo to teach. He journeyed to Rome and made an appeal to Pope Alexander III and the third Lateran Council, who bade him obey his archbishop. But he and his followers could not remain silent; they must obey God rather than man; and so they were excommunicated for contumacy, and afterward were regarded as heretics, mainly because of their strict adherence to the Scriptures.

They grew rapidly and were the most dangerous heretical body before the Reformation. They not only spread through Southern France, but through Switzerland and Germany, and became numerous in Northern Italy. Their doctrines were almost identical with those of the Petrobrusians: they asserted the supremacy of the Scriptures, denied the validity of infant baptism, practised the baptism of believers only, rejected the Roman doctrines of transubstantiation, the sacrifice of the mass, penance, purgatory, and auricular confession. Like the modern Friends, they said that no Christian should take an oath or bear arms, but should suffer violence rather than do it. The Italian Waldenses, who may have had a separate origin, differed in some particulars from the French. Though bitterly persecuted, the Waldenses survived almost or quite to the eve of the Reformation. It was in consequence of their rapid growth and the effect of their versions of the Scriptures, that the Church of Rome condemned translations into the various languages of Europe,

and forbade the reading of the Bible save in the Vulgate, and even that to all save priests.

5. The Manichæan Sects

There were also in Southern France and elsewhere during the twelfth century sects often confounded with these evangelical parties already mentioned, which were nevertheless very different from them. In the East they were known as Bogomils, and were numerous in Bulgaria. In France they were commonly known as Albigenses, sometimes as Cathari. Though nominally Christians, their distinctive doctrines and practices were derived from Mani, and were really heathen. Catholics were not careful to distinguish them from the evangelical sects, but persecuted all indiscriminately as heretics. A crusade was begun against the Albigenses in 1215, and they were exterminated mercilessly. The organization of the Inquisition was largely due to the desire to complete this work.

6. Wiclif and the Lollards

England was the center of the most serious protest against the false papal system in the fourteenth century. John Wiclif, a professor of theology at Oxford University, asserted the supremacy of Scripture over popes, Fathers, and councils; and rejected the teaching of the Church regarding its own nature, denying that salvation depended on membership in the Church or could be secured by

sacraments. He attacked with especial vehemence the doctrine of transubstantiation. But his greatest achievement was the translation of the Scriptures, the first version of the Bible in English. He completed the New Testament, and other scholars associated with him translated the Old Testament. Though it was not printed until 1845, this version was widely circulated in manuscript, and was taught by word of mouth from generation to generation. The knowledge of the Bible thus given to Englishmen did much to prepare them for the Reformation. Like Waldo, Wiclif sent out preachers of the gospel, and the converts thus made became known as Lollards. The first statute in England for the burning of heretics was passed by Parliament in 1401, in consequence of the spread of this heresy. The effect of Wiclif's life and teaching was profound and lasting, and he well deserves the name that has been given him, "The Morning Star of the Reformation."

7. John Hus and His Followers

The teachings of Wiclif were carried to Bohemia by students of that country, who attended his lectures at Oxford, and found an advocate in John Hus, the most popular preacher of Prag and a professor in its university. From about 1400 he gained a large following among his countrymen. His idea was that a reformation of the Church from within was possible, and he had no idea of leading a

schism. He was summoned to attend the Council of Constance and answer for his teachings, and was given a safe-conduct by Emperor Sigismund. He was thrown into prison almost on his arrival, charged with heresy, and condemned to be burned at the stake, which sentence was executed July 6, 1415. The people of Bohemia, outraged by this treacherous punishment of their national hero, broke into open rebellion and maintained a contest for a generation against empire and Church, in which they were uniformly successful, until their own divisions led to their overthrow. By a compact made at the Council of Basel (1431) the chief demands of the Bohemian people were granted, including the receiving of the communion in both kinds. The organization of the Bohemian Brethren, later known as the Moravians, was one of the permanent results of the labors of Hus.

8. Savonarola

The labors of this Florentine preacher undoubtedly prepared the way for Luther, but he made no formal protest against the Roman Catholic Church, rather professing loyalty to that Church to the end. Born in Ferrara in 1452, educated for the profession of medicine, he became a Dominican monk, and was the most eloquent preacher of his generation. He went to Florence in 1490, and was made prior of St. Marks. The city was ripe for a civil revolution and social reform, and Savonarola became the leader

of the movement. He had deeply studied the prophetic books of Scripture, and these he expounded in his sermons, and men believed that he also was a prophet. He seems to have believed in his own prophetic calling, and confidently made strange predictions, some of which were strikingly fulfilled. Through his part in Italian politics, rather than through any doctrine that he preached, he became embroiled with Pope Alexander VI, the worst of all the popes of this period. He was excommunicated, yet continued to preach with little diminution of his power in Florence. His downfall was brought about by the popular fickleness, aided by the plots of the rival order of Franciscans. He was arrested; but at his trial even torture failed to evoke from him evidence justifying his death, yet he was executed on a double charge of heresy and treason, May 23, 1498. Savonarola was not a Protestant, as Wiclif and Hus were, but his teachings were mainly evangelical. In spirit he belongs with the reformers.

9. The Mystics

Many individuals and certain organizations taught a purer form of religion than was general in the Roman Church of the medieval period. These mystics, though they disagreed in many points, agreed in maintaining the possibility of immediate knowledge of God and the inner life of the soul with him. Of these, John Tauler (1290-1361), an

eminent preacher, and Thomas à Kempis, author of "The Imitation of Christ," did most through their writings to prepare the way for reform. The Brothers of the Common Life, to whom Thomas belonged, though not recognized as an order by the Church, nevertheless had a number of communities after the monastic plan and exerted a wide influence. The unknown author of the "German Theology," which was so extravagantly praised by Luther, may also be named as one who considerably influenced the Reformation, by suggesting to the susceptible mind of Luther those mystical ideas that were so prominent in his character, and filled so large a place in all his thinking. Of the precursors of Luther among the German mystics, two are especially noteworthy as having anticipated most of his earlier teachings. John of Wesel was a professor at Erfurt and preacher at Mainz. He opposed indulgences and other errors of the Church; was tried for heresy in 1479, recanted, and died in prison in 1481. John Wessel, professor at Heidelberg, was pursued in vain by the Inquisition and died peacefully at Groeningen in 1489, in his seventieth year. Luther was astonished to find that Wessel had taught his own views regarding indulgences and the authority of the Church. Neither of these men had the qualities of a popular leader, or the Reformation in Germany might have begun with them. As it was, they taught many to look away from the Church to God.

10. The Free Cities

One of the chief agencies in the progress of the Reformation was the growth of free cities in Europe. A free city was one that had achieved its independence and self-government. The revival of commerce that followed the Crusades and the renewed intercourse with the East, caused the merchant classes to increase greatly in wealth and importance. Manufactures were stimulated equally with commerce; new trades sprang up, and the older crafts flourished anew. This new wealth, these new trades, tended to concentrate in the cities, where the tradesmen and merchants organized themselves into guilds. As guilds of all kinds became more numerous and powerful through their numbers and wealth, they naturally sought to gain exemption for themselves from the exactions of their feudal lords. In some cases by open revolt, in others by purchase, they obtained charters that gave them power to regulate their own internal affairs, on the performance of certain clearly expressed duties of military service or tribute. The city then took the place of an individual feudatory, and the lord became bound to protect it in its privileges, and defend it against attacks from any other power. After a time, as monarchs wished to draw upon the wealth of such free cities, they granted the towns representation in diets or parliaments.

These free cities were organized on one general scheme (of course with local variations). Each

guild had its head, called alderman, master, etc. It made ordinances for the regulation of its members, and infringement was punished by fine or expulsion. Citizenship consisted in membership in some guild; residents not members of a guild had no political rights. The heads of the guilds constituted a council for the government of the city, and elected one of their number as burgomaster or mayor. Mayor and council exercised legislative, executive, and even judicial functions.

Cologne was the first German city to obtain great importance, and its merchants formed a *hansa,* or league, which maintained its exclusive privileges for a long time. Finally, through the charter of Henry III, in 1260, recognizing all German merchants as entitled to his equal protection, Hamburg and Lübeck were enabled to become independent of Cologne, and its merchants formed branch hansas. Lübeck and Hamburg formed the first league of cities, but in the fourteenth century the hansa became recognized as a union of towns instead of merchants merely. From 1361 this league seems to have had a federal constitution, with annual meetings of a general assembly. At its height, it included eighty-five cities. There were four divisions: Lübeck, Cologne, Brunswick, Danzig, were the respective centers, and Lübeck was the recognized center of the whole league. Hamburg, the third commercial city of the world, Bremen, and Lübeck, members of this long extinct hansa, are still free

cities of the German empire—the only survivals in Europe of this medieval institution.

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The literature for this chapter is not abundant in English. Comba's *History of the Waldenses of Italy* (London, 1889) is excellent, being based on careful research. Newman's *History of Anti-Pedobaptism* (A. B. P. S., $2) gives an excellent account of several of the above-named sects, and a shorter account may be found in Vedder's *Short History of the Baptists* (illustrated ed., $1.50). The biography of Wiclif, in the "Heroes of the Nations" series is more up to date than the more elaborate biography by Lechler (Relig. Tract Soc., 3s. 6d.). Gillett's *Life and Times of John Huss* (2 vols. Boston, 1871) is still the standard account in English. Villari's *Life of Savonarola* (Eng. Tr., Scribners, $2) is the best account of that reformer, but Clark's (McClurg, $1) is briefer and very serviceable. A book that every student of the Reformation should read is Ullmann's *Reformers Before the Reformation* (2 vols., Clark, Edinburgh), and further knowledge of the medieval mystics may be obtained from Vaughn's *Hours With the Mystics* (2 vols., London, 1860). A new edition lately

[1] Names of publishers and prices are given in these bibliographies if the books are "in print." Place and date of publication are given of books "out of print," which can be obtained at second-hand bookstores, often at very low prices, as none of them are "rare" books.

issued of Miss Winkworth's *Life and Sermons of John Tauler* (Eaton & Mains, $1.50) is very valuable. On the development of the free cities, consult Emerton's *Middle Ages,* chap. xv, or Thatcher and Schwill's similar manual, chap. xvi, and the *Story of the Hansa* in the "Story of the Nations" series (Putnams, $1.50).

The Quiz

Who was Arnold of Brescia? What did he teach? Should he be classed as Catholic or Protestant? What were the doctrines of the Petrobrusians? Who and what were the Henricians? How did the Waldenses originate? What were their doctrines and practices? Where were the Albigenses found? Were they like the Waldenses? What did Wiclif teach? What was his greatest work? Who was John Hus? What was his fate? What did Savonarola teach? Why was he condemned? Was he a Protestant? What is mysticism? Name two influential mystical books. Who was John of Wesel? Was he the same as John Wessel? What did these men teach? How did the Free Cities come into existence? How were they organized? What was the Hansa?

CHAPTER II

THE RENAISSANCE

11. Its Significance

Renaissance is the name given to the first stage of the continuous movement that distinguishes the modern from the ancient world. The name describes the intellectual and moral development of Europe in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. In the sixteenth century the movement is known as the Reformation; in the eighteenth it is called the Revolution. The Renaissance is in the main an intellectual advance, and its aim was freedom of thought; the Reformation was a religious advance, its aim freedom of soul; the Revolution was a social and civic advance, its aim political freedom. The Renaissance begins gradually, as the result of forces that had long been working; it involves no sharp break with the past. Any dates assigned for its beginning or its ending are arbitrary and have no real significance.

12. Its Beginning in Italy

Italy, as the seat of the old Roman civilization, as the country in closer commercial and political relations with the East than others in Europe, felt the first stirrings of the new intellectual life. Here

the renewed study of the best literature of antiquity began, especially of the Greek classics, knowledge of which had quite vanished from medieval Europe. Dante (1265-1321) may be reckoned the beginner of this revival of letters, though he himself had only an imperfect and second-hand acquaintance with Greek literature. His writings, however, first won literary recognition for the Italian language and awakened the Italian people to national self-consciousness. His avowed disciples did what he was unable to accomplish for the study of the ancient classics. Petrarch (1304-1374), not less renowned in his day as a scholar than as a poet, was devoted to Hellenic literature, and in spite of great difficulties made considerable attainments in the classics. Boccacio (1313-1375) was the other member of a trio that had a decisive influence on the course of thought and progress, not only in Italy but throughout Europe. Under the leadership of these men the study of Greek classics made great strides. This rediscovered literature was valued because of the perfection of literary form and the broader ideals of life that it disclosed, as well as for the encouragement that it gave to the pursuit of beauty and to freedom of thought.

Florence became in the fifteenth century the center of classical learning; especially under the Medici did this city become devoted to the new learning. Savonarola did much for its promotion. Greek teachers, such as Chrysoloras and Bessarion, re-

sorted thither and taught the classics to thousands of eager students. Greek manuscripts were sought after, and libraries began to be gathered. Siena, Venice, and Genoa followed in the wake of Florence, and the revival of letters spread through Italy in an incredibly short time. Princes and popes vied with one another as patrons of this new learning. Nicholas V and Julius II were preeminent in its encouragement, little appreciating how dangerous the Renaissance was to be to the papacy. The invention of printing increased the interest in the classics, and the press of Aldus Minutius, at Venice, rapidly multiplied the ancient writings.

Much of this classicism was a mere "fad," but enough of it was genuine to have a beneficent, stimulating effect. Scholasticism, with its deductive method and barren dialectic, began to be discredited. The scientific method, induction, began to be used, and intellectual progress once more became possible. To the study of the classics succeeded the study of the original Scriptures. The Renaissance thus promoted the Reformation, not only by the general awakening of mind, widening of outlook, and improvement of method that were its characteristics, but by leading men to turn from the authority of the Church to the authority of Scripture.

13. Its Revival of Art

The Renaissance was more than a revival of letters; in Italy it was also, and even more, a revival

of art. This too was largely under the inspiration gained by the study of the surviving masterpieces of Greek antiquity. This revival took the form first of all of church building, as was natural, since architecture has always been the foundation of all art, and there were in the Middle Ages abundant survivals of the best type of Grecian architecture. The medieval churches were, however, even in Italy, rather adaptations than imitations of pagan architecture. The thirteenth century witnessed a great access of interest in this art throughout Italy, and indeed throughout Europe. Even more remarkable was the revival that almost necessarily followed in the arts of painting and sculpture—in their origin, at least, always the handmaids of architecture, and inspired by a religious motive. The fifteenth century was the golden period in Italian art, and the masterpieces of that age are still the chief glories of the great galleries of Europe. The names of Giotto (1266-1337), Leonardo (1452-1519), Raphael (1483-1520), Michelangelo (1475-1564) and Titian (1477-1576) are typical of the varying phases of this revival and represent the highest achievements of Renaissance art. Sculpture soon lost its dominant religious motive, and became the representation of ideal beauty; but in painting, religious subjects largely predominated throughout the Renaissance period, and even long after. This was due less to the piety of the painters, however, than to the fact that the Church was their most liberal patron,

and dictated the choice of subjects and treatment.

14. German Humanism

The Renaissance spread from Italy to other countries, and in Germany assumed a type of its own. The revival of art overshadowed the literary revival in Italy, but in Germany literature easily held first place. Those who devoted themselves to the study of the Greek and Roman classical writers were called "humanists." The invention of printing in Germany, and the rapid multiplication of books from 1500 on, gave a great impetus to the movement. Nothing did more to promote learning and to make a reformation possible than the printing-press. One of the first books to be reprinted was the Bible, and by 1500 there had been nearly a hundred editions of the Vulgate, while by 1520 there had been seventeen editions of the German Bible. The study of Hebrew was promoted by the labors of the great German scholar, Reuchlin. At Erfurt, Heidelberg, Nuremberg, and other centers, groups of scholars and patrons of learning and art encouraged the new movement. Art flourished as well as literature. Some of the finest cathedrals belong to this period. The work of Holbein, Dürer, and Cranach takes a high place in Renaissance art.

15. The Rise of Universities

The new interest in learning promoted, if it did not produce, the founding of universities in all the

countries of Europe. Some of the older of these institutions trace their origin to an earlier date, but most of them were established during the Renaissance period. New chairs were established for the teaching of Greek and Hebrew. Instruction was given mainly by lectures, and students were trained in disputation to make use of what they had learned. The test of graduation was ability to maintain a thesis against all opponents. If he acquitted himself well, the candidate was named "Master" or "Doctor," which was merely a license to become in his turn a teacher. Teachers were long dependent upon fees received from their students. There was a common type of organization. The teaching force constituted the corporation and conferred degrees. Discipline was not maintained by the faculty, but students were divided into "nations," each of which elected a counselor; the board of counselors, with the "rector," was the governing body. Many universities had special privileges that constituted them an independent community and offenses committed by students were not tried in the ordinary courts, but by the university authorities. The attendance at these universities was large, though figures sometimes given are exaggerations—as when from ten to twenty thousand are said to have attended certain universities. The University of Paris, the largest, probably never had an attendance exceeding six or seven thousand; and Bologna or Oxford, not more than three to five thousand.

16. Erasmus

Easily the first of the humanists, the typical scholar of the Renaissance, was Erasmus, born at Rotterdam, probably in 1465, a monk, a student at the University of Paris, critic, man of letters, satirist. In early manhood he twice visited England, becoming the intimate friend of Sir Thomas More and John Colet, and for a time was professor at Cambridge University. By his writings he did much to bring about the Reformation, but he lacked the moral courage to join the reformers and break with the Church. His "Colloquies" and "Praise of Folly" were put on the Index, but otherwise he escaped condemnation, and died in nominal communion with the Church, though among Protestants. His delicate satires of the monks, and the pilgrimages, indulgences, and other abuses of his time, were not less effective than the coarse denunciations of Luther. His greatest service was the publication, in 1520, of the first printed text of the New Testament, which he several times revised, and finally published with comments, in which the errors of the Church were severely criticized. This work gave a great impulse to the study of the New Testament, and more than any single achievement of the time strengthened the demand for reform. Men could not read the New Testament without discovering how far the Church had departed from the doctrine and practice of apostolic times. Erasmus, with Melanchthon, founded the science of exegesis.

17. Its Characteristics and Defects

The most striking characteristic of the Renaissance is its prevailing estheticism. It was profoundly influenced by the Greek spirit, and to the Greeks beauty was truth, truth beauty. There was nothing, therefore, in the Renaissance itself to regenerate Church, State, or society. It was only indirectly valuable to Christianity, as it fostered a spirit of inquiry and liberty. The reaction from medieval dogmatism was excessive; mental freedom ran to seed in rationalism and irreligion. The Renaissance thus contained within itself the germs not only of a reformation of religion, and of modern evangelical religion, but of modern skepticism as well. The tendency of the movement was to exaggerate the value of culture. And therefore, ever since, the notion has more or less prevailed that men need only to be enlightened in order to become better—a notion from which the least use of his faculties of observation ought speedily to free any man of intelligence.

While the Renaissance broadened the field of human sympathy and study, it also in some respects narrowed the field. In its first stage, at least, the movement was too exclusively literary. And even the literary activity of the Renaissance, while it seemed to be broadening men's minds, was really to result in narrowing them. One class of studies was unduly exalted. Then originated the mischievous notion that so long enslaved the minds of men,

from which indeed they have yet barely escaped—that the literatures of Greece and Rome, and these only for a brief period arbitrarily selected and labeled "classical," are the only literatures worthy of attention on the part of men of culture.

The Renaissance therefore illustrates a general law of human progress: a movement which in its origin is in the direction of liberty, a reform of hoary abuses, and marks a step forward of humanity, itself becomes fixed, traditional, obstructive in its turn, until it too demands a reformation. Progress is possible only by continually discarding that which served well its day in favor of new truth and better methods.

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be had in several English versions. On the artists and art of the period, Vasari's *Lives of the Painters* is still the classic, and a handy and cheap edition of it is now to be had in the Temple Classics. Grimm's *Michael Angelo,* Robinson and Rolfe's *Petrarch* (Putnams, $2), and Pater's essays on *The Renaissance* (Macmillan, $2) are books by no means to be overlooked. There is no better aid to the study of the Renaissance art than Newnes's "Art Series," a volume each devoted to a biography of an artist and an account of his chief works, with excellent photo-engraved reproductions of the masterpieces (3s. 6d. each). On the universities, either Rashdall's *Universities of the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1895) or Laurie's *Rise and Early Constitution of Universities* (Appleton, $1.50) will be found invaluable.

The Quiz

What is meant by the term Renaissance? When did it begin? Where? What three men may be named as leaders of the movement? What city became its center? Was the Renaissance more than a revival of letters? Name some of the great artists of the Renaissance. How far was Renaissance art influenced by religion? What country next became the center of the Renaissance? What were the advocates of the new learning called? What great invention promoted this revival? Was the Bible widely circulated? Who revived the study of He-

brew? What immediate effect had the Renaissance on education? How was instruction given in the universities? What did the degree of "Doctor" mean? How were the universities organized? How many students did these universities have? Who was Erasmus? What are his most famous writings? Was he persecuted? Did he become a reformer? What was his greatest service? Why? What was the most striking characteristic of the Renaissance? What was the tendency of the movement? What would you call its chief defect? How did the Renaissance finally affect education? What are "classical" studies? Are they the only means of culture? What general law does the Renaissance illustrate?

CHAPTER III

THE BEGINNING OF THE REFORMATION

In Chapters I and II we have considered some of the ways in which Europe was prepared for a reformation of religion. Every country had been more or less leavened with the teachings of the evangelical party, which, under different names, had a continuous history from the twelfth century onward. A reformation was surely coming in some form, and beginning somewhere. Why did it begin in Germany? And what forces determined the form it should take there? To answer these questions we must review the state of Germany in 1500.

18. The Holy Roman Empire

This was in theory the supreme secular power, as the papacy was in theory supreme in spiritual affairs. In fact, neither ever approached universality and supremacy. In the sixteenth century the empire included Germany, a portion of Italy, and (nominally) also Hungary, Bohemia, Poland, and Denmark. Outside of Germany, the imperial power was fluctuating and doubtful; inside it was only nominal. An oligarchy of princes held the real power, and the imperial dignity was little more than an empty honor. The disintegration of Ger-

many was, indeed, extreme; the numerous princes, dukes, counts, margraves, prince-bishops, and free cities, constituted some three hundred independent local governments.

The empire was, in fact, a federated monarchy of strictly limited powers. In practice, the emperor had only such authority over the States as the Diet conferred upon him. This Diet consisted of three bodies: (1) The seven electoral princes; (2) the other princes of the empire, comprising the archbishop of Salzburg, four abbots, two prebendaries, and forty-four secular princes; (3) the free imperial cities, represented by delegates. Each of these bodies met separately, and the third estate voted on such questions only as were sent down to them by the two other estates. When the three agreed—in some cases the agreement of two orders was sufficient—the "recess" was submitted to the emperor for his ratification. The Diet held regular meetings every spring and autumn. It is plain how this political state of Germany favored the progress of the Reformation.

19. The Church

The German Church was a State within the State, each ecclesiastic owning nominal allegiance to the secular ruler through whom he received his appointment and by whom he was supported, but giving his real fealty to the pope. As in all other countries of Europe, ecclesiastics claimed exemption from the

laws of the land. The princes had for the most part retained their right of nomination, and this was their chief hold on the Church. Friars were very numerous and all the monastic houses were wealthy. There was great jealousy of the Church because it had absorbed so much wealth; in addition to its tithes, fees were charged for spiritual offices, alms were begged, special contributions were demanded on various pretexts. It was often complained that the pope got more gold from Germany than the princes or the emperor. The Church acquired whole estates, some by legacy, others by inducing rich young heirs to enter monastic institutions, again by buying up land from distressed owners. It had become so rich as on the one hand to be a menace to the State, and on the other to tempt rulers to lay violent hands on its possessions. Though the clergy were supposed to hold the keys of heaven, through the sacraments, their corrupt lives had destroyed all respect for them among the people. For a century there had been a chronic and increasing bitterness against Rome; and had Luther never been born, or had the question of indulgences never led him into revolt against Rome, a national uprising against the papacy would surely have occurred.

20. The People

There were three classes: the nobility (including the knights), the burghers, and the peasants. The

knights were a doomed class, but could not see that their power had departed. They had lost none of their pride and independence, and with their rapid impoverishment were becoming a class of wild and lawless oppressors. The burghers we have already sufficiently discussed under Sec. 10. The peasants were of three grades: *leibeigener,* or serf, attached to the soil, and in all respects amenable to his lord's will; the *höriger,* or villein, whose services were (theoretically) limited in kind and amount; and the *frier,* who merely paid rent, and was at liberty to change his abode at will. These distinctions have left their traces to this day. But the peasant, even the frier, had inadequate means to protect his rights and defend himself against oppression. Hence the class was in a state of chronic unrest and revolt, which tended to become acute frequently. The peasant was in a state of mind to welcome eagerly anything that promised him relief.

21. Luther's Early Life

Martin Luther was born in the little town of Eisleben, November 10, 1483. His father was a peasant, a miner, and a poor man, but determined to educate his son for the law. Martin was sent to school at Magdeburg and later at Eisenach. As a "poor scholar" he used to sing and beg food from door to door. Frau Ursula Cotta, attracted by his sweet voice, took him into her house and treated him as son. In 1501 he entered the University of

Erfurt, where he took his bachelor's degree in the following year, and proceeded to that of master in 1505. Suddenly abandoning his studies, he entered the Augustinian convent July 17, 1505. He failed to find in the cloister the way of salvation that he sought, but through study of the Scriptures and the advice of Doctor Staupitz, the head of his order, he gradually found peace and an assured faith in Christ as his Saviour. In 1508 he became professor in the new University of Wittenberg, where he took his doctor's degree in theology, and also became town preacher. A visit to Rome, on business connected with his order, was an epoch in his life; he now became acquainted with the corruption and irreligion of the papal court. On his return he resumed his lectures on the Scriptures, and in his comments on Galatians developed his idea of justification by faith. He had already unconsciously diverged greatly from the orthodox Catholic theology, yet, as he was unconscious of the fact, might have remained to the end of his life an apparently loyal member of the Church, but for an incident that happened late in the year 1517.

22. The Theses on Indulgences

Pope Leo X was anxious to raise a large sum of money to complete St. Peter's Church, in Rome, and he issued a bull promising "the fullest indulgences for all sins" to those who would contribute for this purpose according to their means. This papal

granting of indulgences had begun during the Crusades, and was at first limited to those who actually took the cross and went to the relief of the Holy Land. Then it was extended to those who could not go in person, but gave money to send others. Later it was extended to other help given to the Church, like this building of St. Peter's. At first the indulgences were limited to relieving one who was penitent and duly confessed his sins from the penance that would otherwise have been imposed; later, indulgences were supposed to relieve souls in purgatory from part or all of the penalty of their sins, and so to procure them immediate admission into heaven. A Dominican friar named Tetzel was appointed to sell these indulgences in Germany, and by an arrangement with the archbishop of Mainz (who was to receive half the proceeds) he began preaching near Wittenberg. Luther was aroused by the harm that was done to his own people, and wrote a protesting letter to the archbishop, who, of course, paid no attention to it, and Tetzel's work went merrily on. Luther therefore had recourse to an expedient common in the universities, and challenged scholars to a disputation on the subject of indulgences, for which purpose he prepared ninety-five theses, which he published in the usual manner by nailing them to the doors of the Wittenberg Church, October 31, 1517. These theses were very moderate in tone, but they denied the power of the pope to grant indulgences for other than canonical

penalties; that is, those imposed in accordance with the canons of the Church. Luther did not see that in questioning the practice of indulgences he was really striking at the root of the papal assumptions, and at the fundamental Roman doctrine of the infallible authority of the Church. His idea was only to remedy certain crying abuses. He had no thought of beginning a reformation or leading a schism.

23. Leo X and His Policy

The theses were at once printed and circulated widely. They produced a great sensation, for the people instinctively recognized their significance. A vigorous war of pamphlets ensued, and all Germany was stirred. When the matter was reported to the pope, he at first thought it only a squabble between German monks, but after a time he realized that the trouble was serious. He made various attempts to silence Luther, but was unfortunate in his agents. He demanded that Luther should come to Rome and be tried for his heresy, but Luther refused, and was supported by Elector Frederick, of Saxony. Finally, Cardinal Miltitz came to Germany as papal envoy, and persuaded Luther that he would do wrong to disturb the Church further, and induced him to apologize to the pope for the violence of his language and remain silent if his opponents would refrain from attacking him. Luther earnestly desired the peace and unity of the Church, and was conscious that he had been violent in controversy.

24. Leipzig Disputation

If this agreement had been kept in good faith, there might have been no further agitation, but the opponents of Luther could not be restrained—nor could some of his colleagues. Dr. John Eck, of the University of Ingolstadt, one of his most violent critics, challenged Carlstadt (a professor at Wittenberg) to a disputation, and Luther finally became involved in the dispute. The discussion was held before the University of Leipzig, as neutral ground, and brought together a large audience in July, 1519. Eck was a skilful debater, perhaps better versed in the Fathers than Luther, though less acquainted with the Scriptures, and he apparently had the better of the contest, since he forced Luther from one position to another, until the latter took his stand squarely on the supreme authority of the Scriptures, and declared that popes and councils have erred. The chief effect of the discussion was to clarify the ideas of Luther and to send him back to Wittenberg to study the Bible and the history of the Church anew.

25. Melanchthon

Another important result of the disputation at Leipzig was that it finally secured to the Reformation the important services of Philip Melanchthon. This young scholar, born in Baden in 1497, and educated at the Universities of Heidelberg and Tübingen, had won a European reputation before

he came to Wittenberg in 1518. More of a humanist than Luther, he was also greatly interested in biblical studies, and lectured in the theological department of the university, as well as the philosophical, though he declined the Doctor's degree in theology. He went to Leipzig as the friend of Luther, and the discussion caused him to cast in his lot with the reformers. In 1521 he published his *Loci Communes,* a brief theological treatise that had a wide circulation and did much to promote evangelical truth. A warm friendship between him and Luther began soon after his coming to Wittenberg, and continued till death parted them. They complemented each other admirably. The violence and intolerance of Luther were greatly moderated by Melanchthon's mildness and charity, while the timidity and irresolution of the scholar were often fortunately overruled by the promptness and audacity of the man of affairs. Luther knew how to speak to the hearts of the people; Melanchthon was fitted above any man of his time to gain the sympathy of the learned. The Reformation had need of both the people and the scholars, and it won both. That it won the scholars was due mainly to Melanchthon, and without his pen to second the voice of Luther, the Reformation might have failed.

26. Luther's Primary Writings

Another fruit of the Leipzig disputation was the publication, in the following year, of three important

works of Luther, which did much to promote the Reformation. The first was an "Address to the Nobility of the German Nation," in which he urged each prince to wait no more for the action of pope or council, but to undertake the reform of the Church in his own domains. This reform should include the suppression of monastic institutions, the abolition of the interdict and ban, the independence of the princes of the pope, and a denial of transubstantiation. The second work was a treatise on "Christian Liberty," prefaced by a remarkable letter to Pope Leo X, and denying absolutely the Roman primacy and the rightfulness of papal supremacy. The book maintained this paradox: a Christian man is the most free lord of all, and subject to none; a Christian man is the most dutiful servant of all, and subject to every one. The third writing was the "Babylonian Captivity of the Church," in which Luther discussed the sacraments, formally denying the Roman doctrine and reducing the number to three: baptism, the eucharist, and penance. He afterward dropped penance from the list. In these three books Luther fully developed his ideas as a reformer, and never afterward changed them in essentials. The books had a large circulation, and were eagerly read by the common people.

27. Luther's Excommunication

Doctor Eck went from Leipzig to Rome, and busied himself in procuring his rival's excommuni-

cation. He was successful, and returned to Germany with the bull, which was dated September 21, 1520. It condemned as heretical forty-one propositions extracted from Luther's writings, and gave him sixty days to recant, failing which the excommunication would become final; and all who sympathized with or aided Luther were also to be punished as heretics. Luther replied in a characteristic manner, by publicly burning the bull in Wittenberg, December 10. This was destroying his bridges behind him, and making return to the Roman Church impossible. The final excommunication was issued January 3, 1521, and thus the schism in Germany was made complete and irrevocable. It only remained to establish the Reformation and secure its perpetuation.

28. The Diet of Worms

During this time Luther had been protected by his prince, Elector Frederick, who had refused to surrender him to Rome. The political state of the empire made it inexpedient to put pressure on Frederick, for his vote and influence were desired in the coming election of an emperor, as Maximilian was nearing his end. There were three candidates in the field: Charles, of Spain; Francis I, of France; and Henry VIII, of England. After the death of Maximilian, in 1519, Charles was chosen emperor, mainly through the influence of Frederick, and was crowned at Aachen, October 23, 1520. His first

Diet was called to meet in Worms the following spring, and Luther was cited to appear, the emperor sending him a safe-conduct. His friends, remembering the fate of Hus, advised him not to go, but he insisted on appearing and making his defense. His journey to Worms was a continual triumph. His first hearing before the Diet was on April 16, and he remained until the twenty-fifth. He firmly refused to retract unless convinced from the Scriptures of his error. The safe-conduct was respected, and he was dismissed with an allowance of twenty-one days to return home. An edict of condemnation was prepared and issued in the name of the emperor and Diet, though never formally passed, in which Luther was pronounced a heretic and schismatic, and was placed under the ban of the empire. All magistrates were commanded to seize him wherever found, and deliver him to the emperor; while, under penalty of a like ban, all persons were forbidden to receive, defend, maintain, or protect him, either in word or writing; and all his adherents were to suffer confiscation of property, unless they received absolution by apostolic authority. If the emperor had possessed the power to execute this decree, the Reformation could have been stopped in a very summary manner. Its enforcement, however, depended not on the emperor, but on the princes and cities. If they were hostile to Luther and his gospel, they enforced it; if favorable, they treated it as waste paper.

29. Luther at the Wartburg

Frederick was now in a quandary: he was unwilling to abandon Luther to his enemies, but openly to protect him was to bid defiance to the emperor and perhaps provoke the latter to violent measures. Accordingly, on his way homeward, on May 4, Luther was "captured" by "bandits" and disappeared from public view for months. Many believed him dead; even his best friends were not in the secret for a time. This was Frederick's device for securing his safety, and he was taken to the elector's castle of the Wartburg, near Eisenach, and there resided in safety. He employed this time of leisure in literary work, especially in making a version of the New Testament in the Saxon German of his day. Though there were several German versions then in circulation, their German was archaic, and they were made from the Vulgate. Luther made his version from the Greek text of Erasmus, and took great pains to make a faithful and idiomatic translation—to "make the Bible speak German," as he said. After a revision by Melanchthon, this German New Testament was published September 21, 1522. The Old Testament part was not ready for publication until 1534, and in this Luther had the help of several other scholars. This was, on the whole, Luther's greatest contribution to the Reformation. By putting the whole Bible into the hands of the people, in their mother tongue, he made it possible for every German to see for himself how

little the claims of the Roman Church were reconcilable with the word of God. The version became the standard of literary German, and has had an influence as deep and abiding on the intellectual as on the spiritual life of Germany. With some revisions, not altering its essential character, it remains the Bible of the German people to this day.

While Luther was thus living in quiet at the Wartburg, great disorder prevailed in Wittenberg. The people broke into the churches, removed the images, and destroyed them. Carlstadt took the lead in more radical reforms than Luther approved, and the Communion was celebrated in both kinds. Certain "prophets" from Zwickau increased the confusion by their preaching. They claimed to have revelations, and to speak by special inspiration. Melanchthon was greatly impressed by them, and was much disturbed about infant baptism, which the "prophets" opposed as unauthorized by the New Testament. Luther finally became so much concerned that he left the shelter of the Wartburg and returned to Wittenberg, and by a series of daily sermons again resumed the leadership and restored order. He was not disturbed, as by this time the emperor was too busy elsewhere to pay much attention to affairs in Germany.

Bibliography

For the state of Germany on the eve of the Reformation, Bax's *German Society at the Close of*

the Middle Ages (Macmillan, $1.75) may be consulted with profit as also the first chapters of Beard's *Martin Luther* (London, 1889), which is the best biography of the reformer for the period covered by this chapter. For his whole life, the volume by Jacobs in the " Heroes of the Reformation " series is to be commended. Michelet's *Life of Luther* (Bohn, $1.50) is very valuable for its profuse quotations from the reformer's writings. The best *Life of Melanchthon* in English is by Richards, in the " Heroes of the Reformation." Of the numerous general histories of the Reformation, Seebohm's *Era of the Protestant Revolution,* in the " Epochs of History " series, is the briefest and one of the best. Fisher's history is fuller, and scholarly—a new and revised edition has been published (Scribners, $2.50). Hagenbach's (Edinburgh, Clark) is solid and serviceable, and Häusser's, though now old, is still valuable for its discussions of the political side of the movement. Doctor Schaff's large volume contains a mass of information of great value for the serious student, but too little digested for the reader (Scribners, $4). The *History of the Reformation,* by Lindsay (2 vols., Scribners, $2.50 ea.), is an invaluable manual for the student. The book most common in Protestant libraries, D'Aubigné's *History of the Reformation,* is seriously defective in that it presents but a single phase of the subject and ignores all unpleasant facts. Those who would get the Catholic point of view can do so by reading

the chapters relating to the Reformation in Alzog's *Church History,* or from Spalding's *History of the Reformation* (Baltimore, 1875), or the great work by Janssen on *The German People in the Time of the Reformation* (12 vols., thus far in the Eng. Tr., Herder, $3 each). For the theological questions involved, Dorner's *History of Protestant Theology* is the best authority (2 vols., Clark, Edinburgh, $6).

The Quiz

What was the nominal extent of the empire? What was its real extent? Who had the real power? How would you describe the government of the empire? How was the Diet composed? How did it legislate? What power really had the emperor? What was the status of German ecclesiastics? Who appointed them? How did the Church become rich? How did the people feel about this? Did the people respect the clergy? Did they fear the clergy? Did Luther cause the Reformation? What three classes were found among the people? What was the difference between the various grades of peasants? Were they satisfied with their condition? Give an account of the early life of Luther. Why did he become a monk? What was his career at Wittenberg? Do you think he was a sincere Catholic? What were indulgences? How were they supposed to relieve sinners? Who was Tetzel? Why did Luther oppose him? Why did not the archbishop interfere? What was the nature

of Luther's theses? Why did Luther publish them? What was their effect? Did the pope understand the matter? What did he attempt to do? How did the Leipzig disputation come about? Why was it held at Leipzig? Who had the advantage? What was the effect on Luther? On Melanchthon? Give an account of Melanchthon. What was his value to the Reformation? What were Luther's Primary Writings? Give a brief account of each. Why was Luther excommunicated? How did he retort? Why was not Luther promptly suppressed? Who was chosen emperor to succeed Maximilian? What did Luther do before the Diet of Worms? What was the decree against him? Was this legal? Was it enforced? What became of Luther after this? What was Luther's greatest work? What effect did his version have? What occurred at Wittenberg during his absence? What did he do about it? Why was he unmolested?

CHAPTER IV

COMPLETION OF THE LUTHERAN REFORMATION

30. The Peasant War

The German princes generally refused to enforce the Worms decree until they had obtained a redress of grievances from emperor and pope. Some of the advocates of reform were in favor of violent measures, but Luther consistently opposed the use of the sword as a means of propagating the truth. He had no objection, however, to its use to maintain law and order. In the spring of 1525, a long-threatened revolt of the peasants occurred, and was accompanied by many outrages. The lot of the peasants was a hard one, and their demands are now conceded to have been just, but their acts of violence were made the pretext for a severe retaliation. Luther at first gave their cause encouragement, and called on the princes to do them justice; afterward he condemned their violence in language as violent, and exhorted the princes to slay them without mercy. A hundred thousand peasants are thought to have lost their lives as a result of this insurrection, and their lot was made worse rather than better. From this time can be traced a change in the ideas and acts of Luther. He came to believe that the people could not be trusted to order the

affairs of the church, and that good order could be had only by the princes taking all ecclesiastical authority into their own hands.

31. The Protest at Speyer

At successive meetings of the Diet, the German princes refused to suppress the Reformation by force, and at the Diet of Speyer, held in 1526, it was enacted that "every State shall live, rule, and believe so that it shall be ready to answer for itself before God and his imperial majesty." This virtually gave the rulers a free hand in matters of religion, and a considerable number of them proceeded to introduce the Reformed faith. Anhalt, Franconia, Lüneberg, Hesse, Schleswig-Holstein, Silesia, and Prussia followed the example of the elector of Saxony, and either permitted or openly favored the new doctrine and practice. Nuremberg, Augsburg, Ulm, Strassburg, and other free cities also adopted the reformed religion. During this time the emperor was too much occupied with war against France and other troubles to interfere with German affairs; but his defeat of Francis I, in 1525, and his capture of Rome, in 1527, made him for a time undisputed master in Europe. When the Diet assembled at Speyer again, in 1529, he was able to dictate a policy of hostility to the reform, and procure a decree that "whoever has hitherto acted on the edict of Worms shall continue to do so. In those districts where it has not been observed no

further innovation shall be made, and no one shall be prevented from celebrating mass." Five princes, and representatives of fourteen free cities, signed a protest against the validity of the decree, and declared their purpose to abide by the word of God alone. From this time the Reformers were called Protestants. After making their protest, the Elector of Saxony, Philip of Hesse, and the cities of Nuremberg, Ulm, Strassburg, and St. Gall formed a league for mutual protection and self-defense. It was apparent that an attempt would sooner or later be made to suppress the Reformation by force, and that the Protestants must stand together or be defeated.

32. The Marburg Colloquy

This wise measure was frustrated by the bigotry of Luther. Some of the cities that entered into this league had adopted the Zwinglian form of the Reformation, and Luther did not think Zwingli sound in the faith, so he was unwilling to be connected with Zwinglians in any way, and persuaded the Elector of Saxony to withdraw. But Philip of Hesse saw the absolute necessity of unity among the Protestants, and made a great effort to secure it. As a step in that direction he persuaded Luther and Zwingli, with some of their adherents, to meet at his castle of Marburg and discuss their differences. The debate lasted several days, and developed irreconcilable views regarding the eucharist.

Luther, interpreting literally the words, "This is my body," insisted that with the bread and wine the true body and blood of Christ are received; while Zwingli interpreted the words as equivalent to "This signifies my body," and saw in the eucharist only a memorial of the death of Christ. At the conclusion of the debate, Zwingli, with tears in his eyes, offered his hand to Luther as a Christian brother, but Luther refused to take it, saying (more truthfully than he knew), "You have a different spirit than we." No possibility of doctrinal agreement could be discovered, and Luther continued to oppose political union with men whom he esteemed heretics. To his bigoted obstinacy was chiefly due the subsequent woes that overtook Germany, for the disunion on which he insisted nearly resulted in the overthrow of the Protestants, and did bring on them terrible sufferings.

33. The New Church Order

The throwing off of the papal yoke in Germany naturally produced much confusion. Neither people nor priests knew what to do when they had renounced the pope and had substituted no other authority. It was natural that the rulers should assume episcopal jurisdiction, and attempt to regulate doctrine and practice, especially as Luther strongly urged them to do so. The suppression of the monasteries and confiscation of the property of the Church offered the princes a tempting oppor-

tunity to enrich themselves, and greed rather than zeal for religion made many of them Protestants. In 1527 Luther persuaded the elector to appoint a commission of visitation, of which he and Melanchthon were the most influential members, to set in order the churches of Saxony. The other princes followed this example, and a general type of doctrine and practice prevailed, though no two States established exactly the same system. As few bishops adopted the new religion, and the Reformers did not consider episcopal succession necessary, the princes assumed the administrative functions of the bishops, and their spiritual functions were remitted to the presbyters. The sovereign ruled the church by proxy, establishing for this purpose a consistory, on the model of the episcopal courts that had assisted the bishop in the old order. In Hesse and some other States a presbytery was organized, which fulfilled the same function. The consistories or presbyteries appointed and removed pastors. The worship was made more evangelical; the images and pictures of the saints were mostly removed, the few retained being regarded as objects of art, not of worship. The service was in the vernacular throughout, and the reading and exposition of Scripture took first place. The sacraments were reduced to baptism and the eucharist, and the latter was administered in both kinds. Marriage was still celebrated in the church, and orders and confirmation were retained, but these were no longer re-

garded as sacraments. Auricular confessions, penance, and extreme unction were entirely abandoned. A large place was assigned to song in the new order of worship, and Luther did hardly any greater service to his generation than by the impulse that he gave to Christian hymnology, through the hymns and music that he composed or arranged.

34. The Augsburg Confession

In 1530 Charles V was at the summit of his power. He had made peace with Francis I and the pope, and had been crowned emperor at Bologna. The menace of Turkish invasion was removed for a time, and he could give his attention to the affairs of Germany. The Diet was summoned to meet during the summer at Augsburg, and Charles came, attended by an imposing military suite, with the avowed purpose of now regulating the affairs of Church and State. He summoned the Lutheran princes before him, and commanded them to cease worshiping according to the reformed rites and submit to the authority of the pope, but they resolutely told him that this matter concerned conscience, and conscience was beyond his power to command, even as emperor. Charles was unable to press the matter, for in spite of his supremacy in Europe, his treasury was empty and his army was melting away. He needed both men and money from Germany so badly that he was forced to pursue a conciliatory policy, rather than one of high-handed suppression of

reform. On his promise that a general council should be called at once, to meet in Germany and settle affairs, the subsidies were voted.

The Protestant princes were requested to draw up a statement of their beliefs, which Melanchthon did in their behalf, and this has ever since been known as the Augsburg Confession. It is divided into two parts. Part I contains twenty-one articles, in which the Protestant faith is clearly stated. Part II is directed against the errors of the Roman Church, such as withholding the cup from the laity, the enforced celibacy of the clergy, the sacrifice of the mass, compulsory auricular confession, the multiplication of feasts and fasts, and gives the reasons why these things cannot be accepted by Protestants. A refutation of the Confession was prepared by Eck and other Catholic divines. The Diet passed a decree, commanding the Protestants to make no further innovations, and to assist the emperor in suppressing Anabaptists and other sects. In consequence of the now threatening state of affairs, the Protestant princes met at Smalcald at Christmas and formed a league for mutual protection during the next six years. The Catholics formed a similar league at Nuremberg, and it was evident that civil war could not be long postponed.

35. Death of Luther

Just as the two sides were appealing to arms, the Protestant cause received a staggering blow in the

death of Luther, February 18, 1546. It is not without good reason that he has ever since been regarded as the central figure of this great struggle. He was a man of tremendous force, and had the defect of this quality, that he was often rough, overbearing, headstrong. But we must remember Heine's saying, "Revolutions are not made with rose-water," if we would judge him fairly. He had passed through a spiritual experience that gave him a firm hold of the eternal verities. He believed with all his heart in the truths that he proclaimed. He left a deeper and more permanent impress on Germany than any single man that country has ever produced.

37. The Smalcald War

The desertion of the Protestant league by Maurice of Saxony made civil war inevitable, and also foreshadowed the defeat of the Protestants, whose only hope lay in union. The emperor attacked and defeated them in detail. Elector John Frederick, of Saxony, was defeated and taken prisoner at Mühlberg, April 26, 1547. Philip of Hesse, unable to make head against the emperor alone, surrendered, and the other princes followed his example. Charles then proclaimed the Augsburg Interim, which Maurice published with some modifications at Leipzig. These interims were an attempt to make a temporary settlement of the religious question, until the meeting of the general council, long promised. In effect, they restored the usages of the

Roman Church, but permitted the preaching of the Protestant doctrine of justification by faith and the like. Melanchthon advised Protestants to accept the interims, on the ground that rites and ceremonies are matters of indifference (*adiaphora*). Most of the Lutherans refused to accept this advice, and a long and bitter controversy followed.

37. The Peace of Augsburg

Maurice became dissatisfied, and turned against the emperor, as he had previously turned against his Protestant allies. A secret league was formed against Charles, and the conspiracy proved wholly successful. The emperor was surprised near Innsbruck and narrowly escaped capture. His power in Germany was completely shattered, the Turks were threatening him afresh, and war with France had again broken out. His brother Frederick was commissioned to make peace in Germany on the best terms possible, and a preliminary treaty was made at Passau, in 1552, followed by another treaty at Augsburg, in 1555, which was described as a "general, continuous, and perpetual peace." It provided that thenceforth no State of the empire should make war on another on account of religion, but that each should be permitted to choose its religion for itself. The religion of the Augsburg Confession should be tolerated equally with the Catholic, but only as between the States. Those who could not accept the religion established in any State were

free to dispose of their goods and remove to another. If any bishop or ecclesiastical prince changed his faith, he should resign his office and permit a Catholic successor to be chosen in his stead. This clause, known as the "ecclesiastical reservation," became the occasion of much dispute later. Also the refusal of toleration to any form of Protestantism save the Lutheran, became impossible of enforcement in a short time. But though a very unsatisfactory compromise in some respects, the Peace of Augsburg proved a workable system for several generations, and secured peace to Germany. Had it been observed in good faith by both parties, the peace might have remained permanent.

38. Progress of Protestantism

The year 1555 and the Peace of Augsburg may be regarded as marking the culmination of the Protestant Reformation. At that date, approximately, the reform movement reached the height of its numerical strength and territorial extension. The details of many of these Reformation movements we have yet to study, but we may anticipate so far as to give here a summary of the results. The revolt from Rome was not only general in Germany, but had now spread to Denmark, the Scandinavian peninsula, the Netherlands, Switzerland, England, Scotland. The reform was not complete in all these countries, nor did the Lutheran type of reform eventually prevail in all of them, but it was already

assured that they would become Protestant. Besides these countries in which the Reformation had prevailed, or was soon to prevail, it had made a strong impression in some lands that were ultimately to remain Catholic. A strong Protestant party had grown up in France, the progress of evangelical principles in Italy and Spain was giving the Church great uneasiness; in Poland, Bohemia, and Hungary, Protestant churches were everywhere to be found. In most of these countries the Protestant faith had won temporary toleration; in many it was already the established religion. Nevertheless, the strength of Protestantism was more apparent than real; not for a single generation was it to maintain the ground it had thus won, even in Germany. The territorial system that had prevailed was not only indefensible in theory, but politically unwise, a constant incitement to discord and almost certain to result in civil war. There was a hopeless division between the Lutherans and the adherents of the Reformed religion, and both were at variance with the more radical groups of Reformers. That a house divided against itself cannot stand, history testifies as well as Scripture.

39. The Bright Side of the Reformation

The Lutheran Reformation was resultant of two opposite and irreconcilable principles, which from the beginning struggled for supremacy. On the one side—and this constituted the strength of the

movement—it was essentially a revival of spiritual religion, the fruit of the evangelical teaching of the ages preceding. The early stages of the reform are especially marked by this characteristic, as is evident when we consider: (1) Its occasion, a spiritual question: the protest against indulgences, a struggle against the doctrine of salvation by works, in behalf of the spiritual principle of salvation by faith. (2) The evangelical teachings of the Reformers, especially in their earlier writings. (3) The prominence given by the Reformers to the translation and circulation of the Scriptures. (4) The simplification of public worship, stripping it of its formalism and enhancing its spiritual elements. This was prominent in the early years of the Lutheran reform. (5) That the leaders, with all their imperfections and faults, were men of genuine piety, who had passed through a real and deep religious experience, and therefore sought to promote a religion of the spirit, not of the letter. All the successes of the Reformation were achieved through strict adherence to this principle; all the failures of the Reformers may be traced to their deviation from this principle.

40. The Seamy Side of the Reformation

The weakness of the movement consisted in the fact that it became chiefly a political revolution. This is plain when we consider: (1) The eagerness of the princes in seizing this opportunity of

becoming still more independent, both of pope and emperor. The ultimate result was not only the serious limitation of the papal power, but the virtual destruction of the imperial power. (2) The impossibility of crediting them with any but selfish motives in this rebellion. Neither the interests of true religion, nor the good of Germany, can reasonably be supposed to have been their controlling motive. Increase of their own power and wealth was the all-sufficient inducement that determined their action. (3) The quickness with which they embraced the tempting opportunity offered by the Reformation to enrich themselves by confiscating much property hitherto belonging to the Church, and by assuming the administration of the rest. (4) The readiness they showed to increase their power by assuming, with the consent of the Reformers, supreme ecclesiastical authority in their domains. (5) The territorial system growing out of these facts, with its organized intolerance on the part of Lutherans, and their bitter persecution of all who did not accept their doctrine and practice.

It is impossible therefore to look upon the Reformation in Germany with unqualified approval or blame. The movement had a strangely mixed character, and it is no easy thing on the whole to decide whether good or evil predominated. Its moral and religious results were certainly not what might have been expected, not what were expected. The later writings of the Reformers are filled with

complaints about the bad morals of the people. Some allowance must be made for exaggeration in these complaints, but there is good reason to conclude that little immediate change for the better was made in the German people by the Reformation. The people had ceased to be Romanists without becoming Christians.

The political results of the revolution were no more favorable. The power of the princes was greatly augmented at the expense of the pope, the emperor, the nobility, and the people. For a limited monarchy there was substituted an oligarchy with very slight limitations; and history testifies clearly that of all forms of government known to man an oligarchy is the worst. The people, outside of the free cities, found themselves enjoying less liberty than before, and had to wait for the great Revolution for their enfranchisement.

Bibliography

The books cited for the previous chapter mostly cover the subjects of this. In addition, Bax's *Peasants' War in Germany* (Macmillan, $2) is valuable. For study of the Lutheran creeds, Schaff's *Creeds of Christendom,* esp. Vol. III, on the "Evangelical Creeds," is sufficient for most students; but one who wishes to study the subject more thoroughly should not fail to have Jacob's *Book of Concord* (2 vols., Philadelphia, 1893), which not only gives the complete text in English, but invaluable re-

prints of sources, with historical introductions, etc. Köstlin's *Theology of Luther* (2 vols., Luth. Pub. S., $4.50) will furnish additional material of the first value.

The Quiz

How did the princes treat the Worms decree? What was Luther's idea of the use of the sword? How did he regard the uprising of the peasants? What was the result of that struggle? What change now occurred in the views of Luther? What did the Diet of Speyer decide in 1526? How did the princes interpret this? What progress did the Reformation make? How had the emperor's attitude changed by 1529? What was the protest at Speyer? Who signed it? What does "Protestant" mean now? Why did Luther oppose union among the Protestants? Was his reason valid? Do you think he made a serious mistake? If so, why? What led to the Marburg colloquy? What was its object? What did Zwingli hold about the eucharist? How did that differ from Luther's teaching? How did both differ from the Catholic doctrine? What was the result of the Marburg discussion? What relation did the princes assume to the church? Did Luther approve this? Can we properly speak of the Lutheran Church in Germany? How does the sovereign rule the church? What changes were made in the worship? How many sacraments were recognized? How did Luther promote these

reforms? What was the political status of Charles V, in 1530? Was his power as great as it appeared? Why did he not compel the German princes to submit? Who wrote the Augsburg Confession? Describe it. What action did the Diet take? What did the Protestants do? The Catholics? What did this mean? What is your opinion of Luther's character? Was he a great man? Was he a good man? What was his influence? How did the Smalcald war result? What were the Interims? What did Melanchthon mean by *adiaphora*? Did the Lutherans follow his advice? What was the policy of Maurice of Saxony? Why was peace made? What did the peace provide? What was the "ecclesiastical reservation"? Was the peace a success? How far had the Reformation progressed in 1555? Did it hold the ground thus won? What may be called the bright side of the Reformation? What the "seamy" side? Was it a good thing or a bad for Germany?

CHAPTER V

THE ZWINGLIAN REFORMATION

41. Switzerland in the Sixteenth Century

At the beginning of the Reformation, Switzerland was a confederation of thirteen cantons. A league of three cantons, begun in 1291, had been joined by others, and together they had won and kept their liberty. The constitution was very simple: the sole bond of union was the Diet, which usually met once a year, each canton having one vote. There was no central government, no executive, no court to enforce the decisions of the Diet. Only the pressure of necessity, the need of defense against a common foe, had held together a confederation so loosely organized. Each canton was independent and had its own constitution. Several cantons were dominated by a large city, and the government was more or less aristocratic; a purely democratic polity marked the country cantons. Zurich may be taken as a type of the former. Its government was founded on the guilds, formed into thirteen corporations, each with its guildmaster. These guildmasters, together with an equal number of representatives of the nobility and wealthy burghers, constituted the small council; and from their

number was chosen the burgomaster, or mayor, who was the chief magistrate. There was a large council of two hundred members, that was the legislative body. In the country cantons there was an annual assembly of all the citizens, at which a chief magistrate was elected, called the landaman, and laws were enacted. Though a nominal member of the empire, Switzerland had been released from the jurisdiction of the imperial court, and was therefore virtually independent.

42. Early Years of Zwingli

Huldreich Zwingli was born in Wildhaus, a little village of the canton of St. Gall, January 1, 1484. His father was a shepherd, but a leading man of his village, and gave his son a good education, sending him to the University of Vienna in 1499. He became teacher of languages in the school of St. Martin, Basel, and was the pupil in the university of Thomas Wittenbach, who taught him to study the Scriptures. In 1506 he was chosen pastor at Glarus, where he founded a Latin school, and won a reputation as a hard-working priest and eloquent preacher. The publication of the Greek Testament by Erasmus led him to undertake the study of the New Testament in a new spirit and brought about his conversion. He served as chaplain to Swiss regiments in several of their campaigns in Italy, and his experience led him to oppose the mercenary system, which was profitable to a poor country like Switzerland,

but demoralizing. In 1516 he was called to Einsiedeln, where there was a large library, in which he continued his studies. During these years his life was no cleaner than that of the average priest of the age, but his repute for learning and eloquence so increased that he was chosen, in 1518, to be chief preacher at Zurich.

43. Beginning of the Reformation

The reform at Zurich was quite independent of that in Germany, and its occasion was quite different. Zwingli began his ministry by a series of daily expositions of the Scriptures. After four years of this preaching, Zurich had become evangelical, without knowing that it had departed from Romanism. It was not the question of indulgences that brought about a breach; for, though a monk named Samson had been quite as obnoxious as Tetzel, he was expelled from the country with very little commotion. The people of Zurich had come to perceive that the entire system of the Roman Church was unscriptural, especially its fasts and feasts, the compulsory celibacy of the clergy, and auricular confession. They began to demand the abolition of these abuses, and many of them refused longer to observe the fasts. The town council therefore appointed a public disputation in January, 1523, at which these matters should be discussed from the Scriptures; and as a result of the discussion ordered all priests to preach nothing but what could be proved from

Scripture. This very moderate step in the direction of reform did not satisfy the people. Priests began to marry; monks and nuns left their cloisters; images were forcibly removed from the churches. Another disputation was held, and the council decided that the images were not to be removed, and that each priest might do as he pleased about saying mass.

44. Completion of the Reform at Zurich

It was not until 1524 that reform was undertaken in real earnest. The people demanded it with such insistence that the council could no longer delay. A commission was appointed which removed from the churches all images, relics, etc., going to the extreme of whitewashing the walls, so as to remove all traces of idolatry. The chalices, crucifixes, and other ornaments of gold and silver were melted, and from the proceeds of this confiscation a theological college was founded. Zwingli deplored this wholesale destruction of valuable works of art, though he approved their removal from the churches; he would have had them preserved in a museum. The abolition of the mass naturally accompanied this removal of images. A service in the vernacular was prepared by Zwingli, and the Communion was administered after the Reformed rite in the Great Minster, on Maundy Thursday, 1525. All the services of the church were simplified, prayer being made mostly extemporaneous, and

the exposition of Scripture being exalted to the chief place. The Christian year was also virtually abolished, only the four chief festivals being observed.

As the Reformation was undertaken by the council, that body continued to direct the affairs of the church. This connection of Church and State was regarded as a necessity of the situation by Zwingli; and perhaps he was right, if success is more important than to teach and practise the truth. There had been since Constantine no example of an independent and self-supporting church, and it is not wonderful that men were slow to believe such a church practicable. For internal discipline Zwingli organized a synod, composed of all the ministers of the canton and two lay delegates from each parish, which undertook to enforce a strict moral accountability on all communicants. Zwingli did not live to work out his system fully, but it was essentially like that established later at Geneva by Calvin, and known to-day as Presbyterianism.

45. Reform in the Other Cantons

The spirit of reform spread to many of the other cantons, and by degrees St. Gall, Bern, Basel, and Glarus openly adopted the Reformed doctrine and worship. Zwingli's friend Œcolampadius became the leader at Basel, where the Reformation made rapid progress from 1527 onward. At Bern, Berthold Haller was the leading spirit in the reform; he secured the holding of a disputation in 1528, at

which Zwingli was present, and as a result the Reformation was firmly established in the city and spread throughout the canton. Schaffhausen, Freiburg, and Appenzell followed in the same way. It seemed at one time that all Switzerland might be won to the new faith.

46. The Forest Cantons

By 1530 only five cantons remained unmistakably Catholic: Uri, Schwytz, Unterwalden, Luzern, and Zug. These were the oldest members of the confederation, the original league having been formed by the three first named. They are commonly called the "forest" cantons, there being no large towns in them. Owing to their extremely rural character, they were the most conservative of the cantons, both in politics and in religion. Their opposition to Zwingli and the course of affairs at Zurich was as much political as religious. They disliked the Reformation because it was a novelty; they had been set against Zwingli, even before he began his reforms, by his attitude toward the mercenary system, to which they were strongly attached, and which Zwingli had attacked with more zeal than discretion. They accused Zwingli of wanton slander of them, of seditious speeches, and called on Zurich to banish this disturber of the peace, failing which they would be compelled to appear before the people of the baliwicks and make known their injuries. This was an attempt to isolate Zurich and so compel her to

yield. Instead she sought an alliance with Constance and Bern, under the title of the Christian Citizens' League. The five cantons were not unnaturally provoked into seeking an alliance, and they made the great mistake of concluding one with their natural enemy, Austria, which gladly seized the opportunity to divide and weaken the confederation.

47. Civil War and Death of Zwingli

Only one issue could come from a policy like this, and it was precipitated by the action of Zurich and Bern in forbidding supplies for the five cantons to be carried through their territory, thus virtually cutting them off from the rest of the world. When the rival forces faced each other the first time, the soldiers fraternized and ate their supper of bread and milk together. The leaders came to an agreement and a peace was patched up, but such patchwork seldom lasts long. Another conflict broke out, and a sudden invasion of the canton of Zurich found her unprepared and without aid from her allies. At the battle of Cappel, October 11, 1531, the Zurich forces suffered a disastrous defeat, and Zwingli was killed. A treaty of peace was now made, by which the cantons agreed to leave each other at liberty regarding the religious faith of each, and to abstain from foreign alliances. A Catholic reaction followed, in which for a time the proportions of the Protestant and Catholic cantons were

reversed, only four remaining distinctly Protestant: Zurich, Bern, Basel, Schaffhausen. Of the rest, five were equally divided, or nearly so, between the two faiths, while seven became fully Catholic. At the present time, in a population of over three millions, Protestants have a majority of half a million.

48. Zwingli's Successors

Œcolampadius did not long survive his friend, Zwingli, for he died November 21, 1531. This seemed at first to leave the Swiss Reformation without leaders, but two men were speedily found to continue the work. Zwingli meets the severest test of greatness; he had brought forward young men fully capable of taking his place and carrying on what he had well begun.

Henry Bullinger, born at Bremgarten, Aargau, July 18, 1504, after the ordinary schooling of his time was sent to the University of Cologne by his father, dean of Bremgarten. Here he was led to the study of the Fathers, especially Augustine and Chrysostom, and from them to the Scriptures. He became attached to Zwingli in the early years of the reform, in 1522 became a teacher at Cappel, and in 1529 was called to be pastor in his native town, which had adopted the Reformed religion. The same year he married. After the death of Zwingli the Catholic reaction forced him to leave Bremgarten, and he naturally sought refuge at Zurich. Here everything was in confusion, and a reactionary

party was noisily proclaiming that all the calamities of the city were the fitting result of listening to the preachers. Bullinger was not afraid to appear in the pulpit and speak encouragingly to the disheartened evangelicals. The result was that he was chosen Zwingli's successor as chief preacher, but with the provision that he was to "proclaim the word of God in a virtuous, friendly, and Christian manner," and let politics alone. This he did not altogether do, however, for without hesitation he rebuked the council when it appeared likely to concede too much to the Catholics; and to his firmness and courage was probably due the saving of the Reformation in Zurich.

Oswald Geisshüsler, better known as Myconius, was born at Luzern in 1488, and was four years Zwingli's junior. He was the son of a miller, and little is known of his early life. He matriculated at the University of Basel in 1510, and while there formed a lifelong friendship with Zwingli. In 1516 he was called to be a teacher in a school at Zurich, and while in that position he was the main factor in procuring the election of his friend as chief preacher of the city. For a time he held a like position in the schools at Luzern, but when the Reformation failed in that canton he went to Basel. Here he became professor of theology in the university in 1531, and was besides chosen to a position like that held by Zwingli at Zurich. Though he did an important work as an educator, especially in reforming the

Swiss schools, his great achievement was his co-operation with Bullinger in consolidating the Swiss churches and maintaining the results of the Zwinglian reform. His chief writing is a biography of Zwingli. He died at Basel, October 14, 1552.

Bibliography

The general histories of the Reformation already named contain an account of the work of Zwingli and his coadjutors in Switzerland. In addition, McCracken's *Rise of the Swiss Republic* gives helpful material, including the text of the original league and the political history of the sixteenth century. The biography of Zwingli, by Jackson, in the *Heroes of the Reformation,* is exceptionally valuable, and his *Selected Works of Zwingli* (U. of Pa., $1) should by all means be carefully read. Simpson's *Life of Ulric Zwingli* (Baker & Taylor Co., $1.50) is also a useful book. The final volume of Schaff's *Church History* is devoted to the Reformation in Switzerland, and contains a large amount of welcome information (Scribners, $4).

The Quiz

What sort of government had Switzerland in the sixteenth century? Was this favorable to reform or otherwise? Describe the government of Zurich. Of the country or "forest" cantons. What was the relation of Switzerland to the empire? Could the emperor interfere in its affairs? Give an account of

Zwingli's early life. What led to his conversion? How came he to know so much about the mercenary system? Why did he oppose it? What was his character? His reputation? How did the reform at Zurich begin? Did the question of indulgences cause the trouble, as in Germany? What was the first issue between the people and the Church? What did the council do? Was the council in advance of the people or behind them? When did serious reformation begin? What was done? How far did Zwingli approve? How were the services altered? Why did the council undertake these reforms? Was Zwingli right in deferring to the council? How did he propose to secure discipline? What other cantons were affected by the reform? Why did the "forest" cantons oppose reform? Why did they so hate Zwingli? What resulted from this division of the cantons? How and where did Zwingli die? What result followed the battle of Cappel? What is the religious condition of Switzerland now? Who was Zwingli's successor at Zurich? Who carried on the work at Basel?

CHAPTER VI

THE CALVINISTIC REFORMATION

49. French Switzerland

The movement toward reform led by Zwingli was confined to the German cantons of Switzerland. The cantons in the West were largely peopled by French; and Vaud, Neuchatel, and Geneva were almost wholly French in blood and language. These cantons were encouraged by the example of their German neighbors to throw off the yoke of their feudal lords and strive for their independence. Early in the sixteenth century this attempt had been so far successful that they were practically independent, and though not actual members of the Swiss league were under its protection. It was the revolt of Geneva against the authority of its prince-bishop that led to the beginning of reform.

50. Reform in Geneva

In the early stages of this reform the principal figure was William Farel, born in 1489, of a noble family of Dauphiny. He was educated at the University of Paris, where he came under the influence of Lefevre, an ardent student of the Scriptures, who taught the doctrine of justification by faith. About

1512 Farel accepted the evangelical doctrines, and became a zealous preacher of the truth. He was a man of fiery temperament, often called "the Elijah of the Reformation," an iconoclast rather than a reformer, with a genius for destruction, but little constructive power. He knew his limitations, however, and having done his work he was ready, with rare unselfishness, to stand aside and let a better man do what he was unable to accomplish. He led the Genevans in their successful revolt, inspired them to reject the Roman usages and doctrines, introduced an evangelical service in 1534, arranged a disputation the following year, in which the Catholics were overwhelmingly defeated, and secured a successor who had the qualities of leadership and the genius for construction that he lacked. Then he cheerfully took second place, where he had been and might have remained first. All honor to William Farel.

51. The New Leader

John Calvin was born in Picardy, in the town of Noyon, in 1509. His father was a notary and steward of an estate, and procured for his son benefices in the Church, whose income provided for his education. This, though one of the great abuses of the Church, was too common to be noticed, much less condemned. Calvin was educated at the universities of Orleans and Paris, with the intention of making law his profession, but theology was more

attractive. What led him to embrace the evangelical doctrine we do not know, he himself only saying in later years that God had saved him from his errors by a "sudden conversion." The time was probably the latter part of the year 1532. He was compelled to leave Paris, and for some years led a roving life, but found time to compose and print the first edition of his "Institutes," which appeared at Basel in 1536. Though this first edition differed greatly from the work with which we are acquainted, it was the most remarkable theological treatise ever published by a young man of twenty-seven, and speedily gave him a European reputation. The later editions are only an elaboration of the doctrines now set forth, and from the first the author took rank among the great theologians of the church. It was while merely passing through Geneva on his way to Basel, late in July, 1536, with the intention of only remaining over night, that he was sought out by Farel, and with great reluctance was induced to remain and take charge of the work of reform. Farel's greatest service to the Reformation was that he gave Calvin to Geneva, and Geneva to Calvin.

52. The Reformers Banished

Geneva was in a sad moral state; its population was mixed, and the liberty that the town had gained was degenerating into license. Calvin and Farel at once set about securing a moral reformation. They drew up a confession and catechism for the

instruction of the people, which were approved by the council, and the citizens were then summoned by tens to make oath to the confession. An order of banishment was passed by the council against all who refused to take the oath. A series of orders were issued against gambling, foolish songs, desecration of the Lord's Day, and similar offenses. These reforms, though well meant, were proceeding too rapidly for public sentiment, which by no means approved this mingling of civil and moral offenses in a common condemnation. An irreconcilable difference of opinion developed between the reformers and the council relating to church discipline. It seemed plain to Calvin and Farel that the church could be purified only by a rigorous system of discipline, to be exercised by the spiritual authorities independently of the civil, with excommunication as its last resort. The council refused its assent to this system, and the reformers attempted to enforce it against the will of the council. After several stormy scenes, the ministers refused to administer the sacrament, at Easter, 1538, lest it be profaned. On April 23, Calvin and Farel were deposed by vote of the council and given three days to leave the city. It seemed that reform at Geneva had ended in a disastrous failure.

53. Calvin at Strassburg

Farel went to Neuchatel, where he had previously labored, became its principal teacher and preacher,

and there spent the remaining years of a long and useful life. Calvin went to Strassburg, where he became pastor of a church of French Protestant refugees and gave lectures on divinity. He devoted much of his time to rewriting and enlarging his "Institutes," especially adding the system of church discipline that has ever since been identified with his name. In 1539 he bought a membership in the guild of tailors, by which he became a citizen, and it seems to have been his intention to end his days here. During his residence here he began a friendship with Melanchthon which endured until death separated them. These two reformers had much in common, and as time passed came more nearly to agreement on points about which at first they had differed, until Calvin was charged with having become a Lutheran, while Melanchthon was called a Calvinist. In May, 1541, the Geneva council repealed the decree of banishment and besought Calvin to return. With not a little difficulty he was persuaded to comply with their wishes, and was brought back to the city with all honor.

54. Reform Completed at Geneva

Calvin arrived at Geneva September 13, 1541, and never again left the city, save for brief intervals, dying there May 27, 1564. Taught by former experience, he and the council proceeded with greater moderation, but toward the same end. The city of Geneva was, outwardly at least, completely

renovated and revolutionized; from being one of the most immoral cities in Europe, it became one of the most quiet, orderly, and externally moral. The character that Calvin impressed on it remains but little modified to this day. The polity established in the Genevan church was presbyterial. The essential feature of the system was the association of lay elders with the ministry in his consistory or presbytery, so that the lay members were in a majority. This consistory exercised a strict discipline, by spiritual means solely, enforcing their authority by reproof and exhortation, and in the last resort excommunication. The council enforced moral and religious duties by physical pains and penalties. A close supervision of every citizen's life was undertaken. Drunkards and gamblers were punished by fines and the pillory. Reading of bad books—and romances were classed among bad books—was prohibited. Men were banished for making jesting remarks to the disparagement of religion. In 1555 a woman was publicly scourged for singing an ordinary love-song to a psalm tune. In 1558 a girl of eleven years was beheaded for striking her mother in a moment of petulance. Men who would not receive the eucharist were banished. Blasphemy and witchcraft were capital offenses. One thing can be spoken in favor of this severe system: it was impartially enforced—nobody in the city was so high-born or influential as to escape punishment if he violated the laws.

55. The Opposition to Calvin

This domination of the city was not obtained without a struggle, and several times another revolution seemed imminent. Calvin triumphed in the end, but it cannot be said of him that he used his victory with any excess of generosity. The party opposed to him were known as Libertines. Jacques Gruet, their principal man, was condemned and beheaded on the charge of blasphemy, but his real offense appears to have been that he opposed Calvin. A still more famous case is that of Michael Servetus, who had been an opponent of Calvin only through his writings. In these he had criticized and ridiculed the reformer, and had also rejected the doctrine of the Trinity, and published other opinions then reckoned heretical. Escaping during a trial for heresy at Vienne, Servetus came to Geneva, where he was recognized, and arrested at Calvin's instigation. The reformer also took the leading part in his trial and procured his condemnation. Servetus was burned October 27, 1553, and though Calvin disapproved the method of execution he wholly approved of his death, in which he was joined by all the other reformers. A simple granite block, erected November 1, 1903, now marks the place of his death, on the hill of Champel.

56. Beginnings of Reform in France

Reform in France was independent in its origin, and antedated the labors of Calvin, but was power-

fully promoted by the Reformation in French Switzerland, and at length was quite dominated by the ideas of Calvin. At his accession, Francis I was thought to be at least not unfavorable to the reformation of the Church, and his liberal policy in the encouragement of art and letters led his Protestant subjects to hope that he would in the event grant them at least toleration. After some wavering, however, the king allied himself with the pope, and thenceforth the crown of France was on the side of the old Church and its abuses. Nevertheless, adherents of the new faith increased rapidly. A Reformed church was formed in Paris in September, 1555, and in the same year congregations were formed in Meaux, Angers, Poitiers, La Rochelle, Tours, Orleans, Rouen, and many other towns in France. In 1558 the churches ventured to hold a synod in Paris, and they then adopted a Confession and system of government, both modeled on the doctrine and practice of Geneva.

57. Growth of the Huguenots

The French Protestants received the name of Huguenots, which was probably a corruption of the word *Eidgenossen,* or Confederates, commonly given to the Swiss Protestants. Between 1540 and 1560 their growth was so rapid as seriously to alarm the government and the Catholic Church. From one-fourth to one-half of the nation was believed to be in sympathy with them, though their actual

numbers were hardly more than one-tenth of the population. At their most prosperous period prior to the accession of Henry IV, their congregations were estimated by themselves at two thousand, and their communicants at four hundred thousand. A large number of the nobility became Protestants, but this ultimately proved the weakness of the French Reformation movement. It gave too much of an aristocratic character to the Reformed Church, and led the Huguenots to become virtually a political party. Nobles became Protestant or remained Catholic too often because they were for or against the crown, not from pure considerations of religion. The Huguenots also became numerous among the artisans and merchants of the cities, but never got much hold of the common people in the country districts.

58. The Religious Wars

At the Colloquy of Poissy (1561) an attempt was made to gain toleration for the Huguenots. Theodore Beza, who later became Calvin's successor at Geneva, made a masterly presentation of the Protestant case, but the court would not be persuaded. The attempt to repress the Huguenots by force was met by forcible resistance, and civil war broke out, which continued with brief intervals from 1562 to 1570. We need not follow the details of this conflict, in which some writers distinguish three distinct wars of religion. It was marked by

ferocity on both sides, one of the Huguenot historians remarking that his own party waged the first war like angels, the second like men, the third like devils. The peace of St. Germain, concluded in August, 1570, gained for the Huguenots a considerable measure of toleration—they were allowed to worship without molestation, the right to hold office was conceded to them, and four strong cities of refuge were given to their party, including La Rochelle.

59. The Massacre of St. Bartholomew

The king of France was now Charles IX, a minor, completely dominated by his mother, Catherine de Medici. He was nevertheless a great admirer of Admiral Coligny, the leader of the Huguenots. Catherine seems to have conspired with the Duke de Guise to have Coligny assassinated; Coligny was wounded, but not killed, and her complicity was on the point of discovery by the king, who was greatly enraged by the attack on the admiral. To save herself and retain her hold on affairs of State, Catherine had recourse to a desperate expedient—the entire destruction of the Huguenots. A marriage had been arranged between the daughter of Catherine, Margaret of Valois, and the young Protestant prince, Henry of Navarre, which was to cement the peace between the two parties, and a large number of Huguenots had come to Paris to be present at the marriage festivities. Catherine per-

suaded the weak-minded king that the Huguenots were plotting his death and the downfall of the Church, and persuaded him to sign an edict for their extermination. At midnight of August 24, 1572, the ringing of a church bell gave the signal for a concerted attack on the Huguenots, who were taken by surprise and could make little resistance. Coligny and the greater part of his followers were slain, and the rest, including Henry of Navarre, escaped only by conforming to the Catholic Church. Word was sent to the provinces to kill all Huguenots, but warning was also sent them, and in many cases they were able to make a good defense. The entire slaughter is estimated at from twenty-six thousand to four hundred thousand persons, and the later historians are inclined rather to the smaller figures. When news of the event reached Rome, the pope ordered all the bells to be rung, celebrated a high mass, and had a medal struck in honor of the event.

60. Henry of Navarre

The Huguenots were by no means exterminated by the massacre of St. Bartholomew, as had been hoped; they were not even cast down, but roused to anger and a more determined resistance. They soon found a leader in Henry of Navarre, born in 1553, the son of Antoine, Duke of Bourbon, and Jeanne, Queen of Navarre. He was bred as a Calvinist, and by the death of his mother became

king of Navarre in 1572. His Protestantism was probably never more than nominal; while on the whole inclined toward that faith, he was not a religious man at any period of his life. In July, 1586, civil war again broke out. Henry of Navarre defeated the Catholic forces at Coutras in 1587, the first decisive Huguenot victory in twenty-five years of warfare. Though he failed to gather all the fruits of his victory, Henry advanced slowly to Paris, and there Henry III, who had succeeded Charles IX, became reconciled to the Protestant prince and sought safety in his camp. The assassination of the king by a fanatical priest made Henry of Navarre the legal heir to the throne. The Catholic League that had been formed to resist his claims to the crown, suffered a decisive defeat at Ivry in 1590, but Henry IV was by no means yet king of France. The great obstacle in his way was his Protestantism; for it was evident that France could never be united under a Protestant king save by the extermination of the Catholics. After long hesitation, Henry abjured his faith once more, and was formally admitted into the Roman Church July 25, 1593. By the Huguenots this abjuration was felt to be a betrayal of their cause; yet politically it was far from this—on the contrary it was the salvation of the Huguenot party and prolonged its life for a century. The results of his action immediately appeared: Paris opened its gates to its Catholic king; the League was disarmed, and the intrigues of the

pope and the king of Spain were brought to naught; for the first time France was one country, and loyal to a king beloved by all classes save a few bigoted Catholics. The pope's formal absolution, September 17, 1595, reluctantly recognized an accomplished fact, when longer delay had become impolitic.

61. The Edict of Nantes

In his coronation oath at Chartres (February 27, 1594) Henry swore: "Moreover, I shall endeavor according to my ability, in good faith, to drive from my jurisdiction and from the lands subject to me all heretics denounced by the Church, promising on oath to keep all that has been said. So help me God, and these holy gospels of God." For a time the edicts issued by the king were in accord with this oath; as Meaux, Orleans, Bourges, and other rebellious cities opened their gates to him, he formally excluded from the city limits all religious rites except those of the Roman Catholic Church. No Protestant congregation could meet at a less distance than ten leagues of Paris. In July, 1594, by permission of the king, the Huguenots held an assembly at Dordogne, and set forth their grievances; similar assemblies were held from time to time during the next five years. Henry's policy was wavering during this period; doubtless he was beset with great difficulties, but he seemed to the Huguenots to be playing fast and loose with them; and it was not until they had become desperate and

were on the verge of rebellion that he finally, April 13, 1598, signed the famous Edict of Nantes.

This document contains ninety-two articles, with a supplement of fifty-six secret articles, a "brevet" of the king, and a further supplement of twenty-three more secret articles. The first is declared to be a "perpetual and irrevocable edict." It conceded to Protestants the right to dwell anywhere in the royal dominions, without molestation. Perfect equality of worship was not conceded, but Protestants were given greater privileges than they had ever before enjoyed. Worship was expressly authorized in residences of noblemen, and in all cities where such worship had been held up to August, 1597; and a second city in every bailiwick of the kingdom was added. No religious test was to be applied at schools, universities, hospitals, or in relief of the poor, and Protestants might establish schools of their own. Cemeteries were provided for their dead; all public offices were opened to them, and a chamber of Protestant judges was established in the various parliaments; forty-five thousand crowns were appropriated from the treasury annually (really for support of clergy), and Protestants were authorized to retain certain cities in their possession. The edict must be pronounced a remarkable example of religious toleration for this period. It would have been fortunate for France had it been loyally observed; but a later king was to show that the edict was neither perpetual nor irrevocable.

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The Quiz

How did the western cantons differ from the rest of Switzerland? Who led the reform at Geneva in its first stage? What was Farel's character? What did he accomplish? Can you think of any parallel to his unselfishness? What was Calvin's parentage and early life? How was he converted? How old was he when he published his "Institutes"? Is

there any similar case? How came he to settle in Geneva? What did Farel and Calvin accomplish? Were their reforms a success? Why not? What led to their banishment? What became of Farel? Where did Calvin go? What did he do? Was his friendship with Melanchthon honorable to both? Why did Calvin return to Geneva? How long did his labors continue there? What was the effect on Geneva? How did Calvin's "consistory" differ from the German? Was the discipline of Geneva severe? Was it impartial? Did Calvin have enemies? How did he treat them? What happened to Gruet? How was Servetus treated? Did the other reformers approve of Calvin's conduct? How did reform begin in France? What was the attitude of Francis I to it? How successful were the reformed doctrines? What were the French Protestants called? What does the name mean? How many Huguenots were there? What was their weakness? What was the Colloquy of Poissy? How were the religious wars fought? What did the peace of St. Germain concede? How did the massacre of St. Bartholomew occur? How many Protestants were slain? Who was Henry of Navarre? How did he become king? Was his abjuration justifiable? How did he treat his former Protestant friends? What did the Edict of Nantes grant to Protestants?

CHAPTER VII

THE FURTHER PROGRESS OF CALVINISM

62. The Netherlands

In the sixteenth century the Netherlands included the modern States of Belgium and Holland. One of the richest and most progressive countries of Europe, they had become a dependency of the crown of Spain, but had a constitution of their own. There was an assembly of the estates, without whose concurrence no new legislation could be enacted, and especially no new taxation. There were two distinct populations: one purely Teutonic, the other having affinities with the French. The doctrines of Luther found early entrance into the Netherlands, and made some adherents there, but Charles V enforced the Edict of Worms, and so long as he reigned the new heresy made little progress.

63. Philip II and the Reformation

In 1556, Charles abdicated, and was succeeded as king of Spain by Philip II. Charles had been born in the Netherlands, and there had always been real sympathy and affection between the people and himself. Philip was a stranger, could not speak their language, neither understood nor sympathized with them, and was inclined to arbitrary power, in de-

fiance of the ancient constitution. From the beginning he pursued a policy that could have but one final result, to drive the people into revolt. The last intolerable act was to order the introduction of the hated Spanish Inquisition. For this there was a justification from Philip's point of view, in that the doctrines of Calvin were now making great progress in the Netherlands, and heresy was seriously threatening the supremacy of the Catholic Church. The Spanish Inquisition was especially hated, because it had been made in Spain an instrument of political as well as of religious despotism. It was feared by the people of the Netherlands that Philip intended to subvert their political liberty under the guise of promoting religious orthodoxy. Some of the more powerful nobles opposed Philip's policy, but were not prepared for actual revolt. They incurred the bitter enmity of the king without doing any good to their country. As soon as he felt strong enough, Philip sent the Duke of Alva with an army to enforce his will. Counts Egmont and Horn, the two most prominent nobles in the opposition, were treacherously arrested, condemned for treason, and beheaded.

64. William of Orange

It had become evident that the Netherlands must oppose armed resistance to their king, or be reduced to a condition but one remove from slavery. The leader in this struggle was William of Orange,

the greatest of the nobles of the land. He had been brought up at the court of Charles V, and was highly esteemed by that monarch for a wisdom above his years. Philip, however, distrusted him, and treated him with cold courtesy. The sympathies of Orange were with his people from the first, but for a time he dissembled. He refused to join Egmont and Horn, seeing clearly that nothing would be accomplished by them. When the final crisis came, in 1572, and the people must make a stand for liberty, then or never, he came forward and was accepted as the leader of the revolt. He assumed the title of Stadtholter, and war was waged against the Duke of Alva in the king's name. For years this legal fiction was preserved, the people being unwilling to assume the character of rebels against their king. Even after the formation of the Union of Utrecht in 1579, by which the provinces formally united for mutual defense, and chose the prince as their constitutional ruler, the title of Stadtholter was retained and the pretext of loyalty was maintained. Not until 1581 did the Netherlands formally declare their independence of Spain, though it had long been an accomplished fact. The success of the Netherlands in their struggle for freedom was mainly due to the sagacity, courage, and persistence of purpose of this one man. He was the Washington of this revolution, and to his personal exertions and sacrifices was more than once due the continuance of the struggle. His great

wealth was lavished upon the cause he had embraced; he risked everything on its success; and though he was assassinated before his work was complete (1584), he lived to see his country's independence virtually established.

65. The Reformed Church

William of Orange was the one man of his time who knew how to be a Christian without being a bigot. He was several centuries in advance of his age in his conception of freedom, for he understood by it freedom of religion as well as freedom in civil matters. He had no objection to a State Church, or to several State Churches, which is only to say that he did not completely emancipate himself from the errors of his day. But he would have had all religious bodies treated equally by the State, and especially was he opposed to any persecution or proscription of men on account of religion. He used all his influence to promote complete toleration in the Netherlands, and with such success that since his time persecution on avowedly religious grounds has been unknown there. This was the one State in Europe that tolerated Anabaptists.

The first general assembly of the churches organized in the Netherlands was held at Dordrecht in 1574, and a presbyterial constitution with a Calvinistic Confession were finally adopted. Each province had the direction of ecclesiastical affairs in its own limits, and this led to some diversities of

practice, but there was a general type of doctrine common to all branches of the Dutch Church.

66. Arminius and the Synod of Dort

Arminius (Jacob Harmensen), born in 1560, was educated at Leyden and Geneva, and became professor at Leyden in 1603. He was even then suspected of heresy, and soon came into violent collision with the extreme Calvinistic party. He attempted to modify the doctrines of Calvin with reference to predestination and the freedom of the will; and after his death (1609) his followers continued the agitation. The differences between the two parties finally became crystallized into five articles, known as the "five points" of Arminianism: (1) God's election is conditioned on the foreseen faith of the elect; (2) Christ died for all, yet only those who believe are saved; (3) no man is able of himself to believe; (4) salvation is all of grace, but the grace is not irresistible; (5) believers are able by the aid of the Spirit to resist sin, but may fall from grace. At the Synod of Dort, held 1618-1619, these points were condemned (excepting the third, which was more strictly defined) and the opposite doctrine was declared to be the teaching of the Scriptures. Persecution of the Arminians prevailed for a time. Their clergy were deposed or silenced, and some were banished or fined. It was attempted to take from these proceedings the character of religious persecution by charging that the Arminian ministers

were disloyal to the State, but this was too evidently a pretext to obtain belief.

67. Progress of Calvinism in Germany

Many of the provinces and free cities in which the Lutheran form of religion at first prevailed afterward adopted the Calvinistic theology and polity. The influence of Melanchthon was powerful in promoting this change. In his later years he came practically to agree with Calvin on the doctrines of the eucharist and the freedom of the will. Elector Frederick III, of the Palatinate, introduced the Calvinistic faith as the official religion of his province, and procured the composition of the Heidelberg Catechism as a standard of faith for his clergy. The States of Nassau, Bremen, Anhalt, and Hesse also became more or less consistently Calvinistic. Most important of all, perhaps, was the conversion to this faith of Elector Sigismund, of Brandenburg. But though legally entitled to introduce his own views into the churches by royal prerogative, he made a voluntary written pledge (February 5, 1615,), not to force on any community a preacher regarded with suspicion. He only aimed to secure equal rights for the Reformed side by side with the Lutherans—a conspicuous instance of moderation, and the first case of real toleration in Germany. On the lower Rhine a large number of the free cities either openly adopted Calvinism or tolerated and favored it. Among those cities may be named

Wesel, Emden, Clèves, Jülich, and Berg. These constituted, however, not a national or provincial Church, but a free union of churches whose bond was a common Confession, at first the Belgic, afterward the Heidelberg Catechism. While Calvinism was for the most part repudiated as a party name, these churches frequently spoke of their "true, really reformed religion" in terms that implied a reproach against Lutheranism, as only partially reformed, until Reformed became a party name, synonymous with Calvinistic. The changes in doctrine were accompanied with a change of polity: government by presbytery and synod took the place of consistory and prince.

68. Beginnings of Reform in Scotland

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, no country was more loyal to the papacy than Scotland. Later, there was scant sympathy with the policy of Henry VIII. Yet the corruption of the Roman Church was great, and it was a constant cause of complaint that half the wealth of a poor country was in ecclesiastical hands. The doctrines of Luther made but a slight impression on the people. Patrick Hamilton, related to one of the great families of Scotland, was educated on the continent and embraced the reformed doctrines. He had preached but a short time when he was apprehended and burned for heresy, in 1528. George Wishart, a younger man, also trained abroad, was able to

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preach the truth less than three years, when he too was burned, in 1546. Before his death, however, he had made many converts, including one who was a host in himself—John Knox—and had thereby prepared the way for Scotland's conversion.

69. John Knox

Of the first forty years of the life of this distinguished man, only two facts are certainly known: he was a student for a time in the University of Glasgow, where he does not seem to have taken a degree, and he was a priest and notary by papal appointment, in 1543. All beyond this is conjecture. About December, 1545, he came in contact with Wishart, and this was the turning-point in his life. His conversion to the reformed doctrines followed, and not long afterward he was publicly called to the ministry, much against his own will. Captured by the French, at the siege of St. Andrews, he was made a galley slave and suffered in this captivity nineteen months, when he was released at the intercession of the English government. Going to England, he held several benefices there, took a prominent part in the revision of the prayer book and was offered a bishopric, which he declined from conscientious scruples. On the accession of Mary, he went to Geneva, where for the first time he came in contact with Calvin and was powerfully influenced by the great theologian. After serving as minister of Reformed churches at Frankfurt, Dieppe, and

other continental cities, he returned to Scotland in 1559, never again to leave it.

70. Completion of the Reformation

The movement for reform in Scotland was complicated by a political contest of the nobles against the crown. Queen Mary remained faithful to the Catholic Church, and most of the nobles therefore became Protestants. The reform was a spoliation of the Church by the nobles. A Confession of Faith, strongly Calvinistic, was adopted in August, 1560, and a week later Parliament adopted three acts that quite revolutionized the Church: (1) Abolishing the pope's jurisdiction; (2) Condemning all doctrine and practice contrary to the new Confession; (3) Forbidding the celebration of the mass, under penalty of confiscation of property for the first offense, exile for the second, and death for the third. The "Book of Discipline," soon after adopted, settled the Church on the presbyterial system in the main, though bishops were still retained with the title of superintendents. In 1581 a second "Book of Discipline" was enacted that was strictly Presbyterian. At the death of Knox, in 1572, the Reformation was not legally complete, but the work had been effectually done, and within a generation Romanism almost disappeared from the Lowlands of Scotland. This was mainly due to the labors of Knox. The impression of his personality was left deeply on Scotland; his union of tenderness and

strength, of humor and seriousness, of geniality and severity, of manful sympathies and godly fervor, was well fitted to impress a nation. Nor did his work ever need to be done over; the Scotch remained from his day obstinately attached to their Calvinism and their kirk.

71. Defects in the Scotch Reformation

An intolerance was shown hardly less stern than that of the Catholics. The temporalities were grossly mismanaged. The nobles saw their opportunity, and greedily seized the property and revenues of the Church. It was the idea of the originators of the Reformation that the church property should be devoted to three objects: the sustentation of the ministry, the education of the people, and the relief of the poor. The lion's share of the property was, however, grasped by the crown and nobles, the latter especially being the gainers. A mere pittance was reluctantly doled out to the ministry, so that in 1590 the General Assembly complained that four hundred parishes were destitute of pastors because no stipends were provided. The reformers had availed themselves of political forces to advance the Reformation, and the Reformed Church was compelled to suffer the natural consequences of such an alliance. Never has the church of Christ allied itself with the secular powers, in the expectation of promoting the cause of pure religion, that it has not found itself in the end duped and plundered. That kingdom of

God, which is righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost, is not to be promoted by the sword.

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The Quiz

What is meant by the Netherlands? What was their government? What kind of people inhabited them? How did the Reformation begin there? What was the policy of Philip II? Why was the

Spanish Inquisition so hated? How were those who opposed Philip treated? Who became the leader in the revolt? What title did he bear? What did the Netherlands profess? When did they declare their independence of Spain? What was the character of William of Orange? Did he favor persecution? How was the Dutch Church organized? Who was Arminius? What are the "five points" of Arminianism? How many of these points do you believe? What did the Synod of Dort hold concerning them? What was done to Arminians? How far did Calvinism progress in Germany? What is the Heidelberg Catechism? What German prince was eminent for his tolerant spirit? How did the free cities regard Calvinism? What does Reformed, with a capital letter, mean? How was Scotland affected toward the papacy in the sixteenth century? Did the doctrines of Luther make much impression on the people? Who were the earliest Protestant preachers? What do we know of the early life of Knox? How was he converted? What befell him for some years? How did he come to know Calvin? Why was reform so popular in Scotland? What was accomplished under Knox's leadership? What is your idea of his character? In what respect did the Scottish Reformation fail to accomplish its objects? Why did the reformers fail?

CHAPTER VIII

THE ENGLISH REFORMATION

72. England in 1500

At the accession of Henry VIII, England was a poor country. The long wars with France had gradually stripped her of her French territory—a blessing in disguise—and impoverished king and people. The Wars of the Roses had completed the impoverishment of the nation, and not all of Henry VII's frugality could more than partially repair the loss. England's army was small and her navy insignificant. The population of the kingdom is estimated at three millions, while France had fourteen millions, and Charles V ruled sixteen million subjects. London was a city of ninety thousand—a third-class town in Europe then, since Paris had four hundred thousand inhabitants, Milan and Ghent two hundred and fifty thousand each, while Rome, Venice, Genoa, and Naples were all larger than London. The English king's annual revenue is said to have been £125,000, while Francis I had £800,000 and Charles V £1,100,000. Yet with these greatly inferior resources, Henry aspired to make as great a figure in the councils of Europe as either of his rivals. That he measurably succeeded proves his genius for statecraft and the ability of his ministers.

England was, however, a compact nation, with a strong central government. The old nobility had perished in the civil wars, and the new nobles were very subservient to the crown. Through control of boroughs in the royal domains and in the estates of great nobles, the crown was able to manage the House of Commons, so that one will animated ministers and parliaments, and that will was Henry's. There was a strong middle class, though it had not as yet much political power, and it was not confined to the cities, as in Germany, but the country yeomen or tenant-farmers must be reckoned in the same category. The peasantry had attained their freedom from serfdom, and the surplus moved into the towns and found employment in the various handicrafts. The wars and the black death had so depleted the population that the survivors found labor in great demand at wages unprecedentedly high. Manufactures, especially of woolens, were rapidly growing in towns, and sheep-farming was becoming an important and profitable industry.

73. The Church

For three centuries the English kings and people had been struggling to establish independence of the pope in the temporal administration of the Church, but the supremacy of the pope in matters purely spiritual had never been questioned by crown or law—to question it was regarded as heresy. Under this general head of spiritual supremacy,

however, the popes had managed to get classified a large number of powers and privileges that would ordinarily have been adjudged secular. This they did mainly through their judicial functions; to the courts of the Church were ultimately appealed all causes that could on any pretext be held to involve a question of faith or morals. And what cause could not be made to involve such a question, by the ingenuity of the canon lawyers? This was the real nature of the papal supremacy in England on the eve of the Reformation—a judicial supremacy that made the pope the final arbiter in every suit of real importance that might be brought in the kingdom.

There is little evidence, at the opening of the sixteenth century, of any feeling on the part of the English people against the Church. Possibly there was less flagrant corruption among the English clergy than was common on the Continent. The Church had, to be sure, obtained a large share of the wealth, as in other countries—not less than one-third of the arable land is said to have been in its possession—but on the other hand the Church was an exceptionally just and kind landlord, and to be its tenant was esteemed a great privilege. The monastic properties were well administered, their surplus revenues being used for the relief of the poor. The literature of the time shows none of that seething discontent, that deep-seated dissatisfaction with the Church and its administration that we find in Germany and France.

74. Abolition of the Roman Supremacy

Until past middle life Henry VIII was notable for orthodoxy and for zeal in behalf of the papacy. For writing a book against Luther he received from the pope the title "Defender of the Faith," which English kings bear to this day. But about 1527 he sought a separation from his wife, Catherine of Aragon, asking the pope to annul their marriage (the Roman Church does not grant divorces) on technical grounds of canon law. The pope was well disposed to grant the request, but dared not on account of the opposition of Charles V, Catherine's nephew. A long diplomatic contest ensued. The king became enraged at the duplicity of the pope, and determined to take matters into his own hands. Accordingly, Parliament passed the Act of Supremacy, in 1534, which made the king the absolute head of the Church of England, and the Act of Appeals forbade all appeals from the king's courts to Rome. The archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, sitting as judge of the highest court, now declared the marriage of Henry and Catherine null and void from the beginning, and their daughter Mary illegitimate.

75. The Church Under Henry

It was the exigency of Henry's private affairs that had brought about this separation from Rome, and the practical making of the king into an English pope, not any desire for reform. But he had begun

a movement that he was not strong enough to control, and he unconsciously added to its force by permitting the publication of the Bible in English, and commanding a copy to be placed in every parish church, where the people could read it. In 1536, ten articles of religion were issued by the king's authority, taken almost bodily from the Augsburg Confession. A litany in English was published in 1544, and several primers, containing prayers in English and brief religious pieces. An Act of Suppression in 1536 gave the king authority to close the monasteries and confiscate their property, thus adding spoliation to reformation in England, as in other countries, and greatly increasing the zeal of many for this sort of "reform." Much of this property was distributed among the new nobles, who thus became partners with the king, and pledged to resist the restoration of papal authority. In his later years, Henry, who had never ceased to be a Catholic in sentiment, adopted a reactionary policy, and secured the passage of the Act of Six Articles, which declared for: (1) Transubstantiation; (2) communion in one kind; (3) Celibacy of priests; (4) perpetuity of vows; (5) private masses; (6) compulsory auricular confession. It is evident that there was no Reformation under Henry VIII.

76. Edward VI

With the accession of this boy of nine years, in 1547, the real Reformation begins, and the leading

spirit throughout is Thomas Cranmer. Edward's first Parliament repealed the Six Articles, and commanded the administration of the communion in both kinds. The marriage of clergy was legalized the following year. In the meantime, Cranmer and others had been at work on a liturgy in English, and an Act of Uniformity in 1549 made its use obligatory in all parishes of the Church of England as the Book of Common Prayer. During the summer following there was a visitation by royal commission of the churches and clergy to enforce these reforms. The new prayer book was criticized by a section of the clergy as not radical enough—it had retained too many "popish" usages to satisfy the more radical reformers—and as Cranmer sympathized with them a revision was made. A new Act of Uniformity commanded the use of the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI, as it is known, but before the law could be enforced the young king died.

77. The Attempted Revolution

Parliament had authorized Henry VIII to name his successors by will, and he had named his children in the following order: Edward, Mary, Elizabeth. Mary was therefore the legal heir to the throne, her title resting on an Act of Parliament. But Mary was a Catholic, and the Protestant advisers of Edward VI persuaded him to make a will declaring his cousin, Lady Jane Grey, his successor. This attempt to set aside an Act of Parliament by the

king's fiat was clearly illegal, but had the revolutionary party been able to make head for a few months, they might have summoned a parliament and had Lady Jane's title validated by statute, as had often been done before. The attempt at revolution failed; the people supported Mary, who was quickly seated on the throne; and Lady Jane Grey, after a "reign" of two weeks, was sent to the Tower, and later beheaded for treason.

78. "Bloody" Mary

By successive Acts of Parliament, all the work of reformation was undone, and in November, 1554, the pope's legate gave the English nation absolution for their sins and received them back "into the unity of our Mother, the Holy Church." Persecution of all Protestants at once followed. Cranmer, as guilty of the double crime of heresy and treason, was burned at the stake; bishops Hooper, Ridley, and Latimer were also burned. John Rogers, and other eminent clergy followed. In all, nearly three hundred persons suffered death, mostly in the last three years of the five that Mary reigned. There has been much dispute as to the responsibility for these persecutions, but nothing can alter the fact that Mary was queen and affixed her signature to the death warrants. Hatred of the Catholic Church became characteristic of the English people from this time onward. The Reformation was assured by the very policy that had threatened its

extinction. Englishmen never forgot or forgave this reign.

79. Elizabeth's Reforms

Though well disposed toward the Catholic Church, Elizabeth was forced to become a Protestant by the policy of the pope. He demanded that she submit her claims to the throne to him for decision, and when she refused this impossible demand, she was excommunicated and her subjects were released from their allegiance. It became impossible therefore for a sincere English Catholic to be a loyal subject; and Elizabeth not only was driven to Protestantism, but compelled to treat her Catholic subjects with severity. More than two hundred of them suffered death, not as Catholics, but for treason, as they refused to take the oath of allegiance. The Church of England was again reformed, and from this time remained Protestant. The Second Prayer Book of Edward VI, with some changes, was adopted, and its use was required by the Act of Uniformity of 1559. By this Elizabethan settlement, as it is known, the Church of England reduced the sacraments from seven to two, and finally rejected transubstantiation, the sacrifice of the mass, penance, auricular confession, the invocation of saints, and the use of images. But the English Reformation was a compromise, and the doctrine of sacramental grace, which is the essence of Romanism, was retained in the prayer book, notably in the

communion office, which recognizes the real presence, and in the baptismal service, which teaches baptismal regeneration. The retention of words like "altar" and "priest" also encouraged sacerdotalism. On the other hand, the Articles recognize the Scriptures as the sole authority, and teach justification by faith; while we frequently find "minister" used instead of "priest" in the Articles and rubrics. There is thus a historic justification for the parties into which the Church has been divided ever since the time of Elizabeth. These compromises were the result of a theory, to which Englishmen are still greatly attached, that the Church should be national, and that every subject of the king should be by birth a member of it and have his rights as accurately defined by law as his civil rights.

80. The Puritans

A party in the Church, small in numbers but considerable by reason of learning and character, wished for a more radical reform. It seemed to them that the Elizabethan compromise retained too much of Romanism in the Church of England. They had conscientious scruples against wearing the surplice, as a priestly garment, against kneeling at the Communion, the sign of the cross in baptism, and the like. This party became known as Puritans, and later grew to a quite formidable strength. One section of them became Presbyterians, and denounced episcopal government as "prelacy" and a

relic of popery. They were not Separatists, preferring to remain in the Church and secure its further reformation according to their ideas. At the accession of James I (1603), they hoped for more liberal treatment, but though bred as a Presbyterian James was much inclined toward episcopal government and the High Church party After a conference with the Puritans, he declared that he would make them conform, or he would "harry them out of the land."

81. The King James Bible

The most creditable event of this reign was the making of a revision of the various translations of the English Bible, a work begun in 1607 and published in 1611. Fifty-four of the best scholars in England were engaged in this revision, meeting in six companies of nine each. A joint committee of two persons from each company revised the whole, and gave to it a uniform character. Though this has long been the Bible of the English-speaking people, and is everywhere honored by scholars as a "well of English undefiled," its merits were not at once recognized. The Puritans were prejudiced against anything that came from King James, and were besides much attached to their Genevan version. It was not until after the Restoration (1662), when the prayer book was again revised and the Gospels and Epistles made to correspond with this version, and the entire book was regularly read in the parish churches, that the King James version

began to grow in favor and finally came into general use. Its ultimate acceptance, however, was determined more by its own superior merits than by ecclesiastical authority.

82. Laud and the Anglo-Catholics

As the Puritans gathered strength, a party took form in the Church to oppose them. This party disliked the name Protestant; they regarded the Church of England as a branch of the ancient Catholic Church over which the pope had unjustly usurped authority. They approved so much of the Reformation as the separation of the Church of England from the papacy, and the restoration of its worship and discipline to that of the first seven ecumenical councils. This Anglo-Catholic party obtained the upper hand in the Church for a time, through the support of the crown and the leadership of William Laud, archbishop of Canterbury. He attempted to impose the Catholic theory by force on the Puritans, and in return for the support of Charles I in this policy upheld the illegal exercise of the royal prerogative by that monarch. By the Court of High Commission and the Star Chamber, two bodies that had a legal origin but had arrogated to themselves much illegal power, those who resisted the king and archbishop were imprisoned, fined, put in the pillory, had their ears cut off, and in most cases contrary to the laws of England, which guaranteed to every man trial by a jury of his peers.

Laud was a sincere man, pious according to his lights, but narrow-minded, and quite incapable of understanding his Puritan opponents.

83. The Revolution

When the Long Parliament met (1640) the Puritan party was by no means a majority, but it was a very strong, compact, and determined minority. The Puritans knew precisely what they wanted, and united in common measures to obtain it; and in such a body as Parliament, a minority like this would wield an influence out of proportion to its numbers. There were no political parties in England, in the present acceptation of the term, but the House of Commons consisted of what are now called "groups," and this Puritan group was large and most influential from the first. The Presbyterians were by far the most numerous group of the Puritans, and after the beginning of open and civil war, by the destruction and exclusion of Royalist members the Presbyterians became, or at least controlled, a majority. From this time on, for several years, the Presbyterians had an acknowledged and unquestioned supremacy, through Parliament, in the nation. They succeeded in passing, even as early as 1641, with the help of many moderate Churchmen, a series of "Resolutions" against the use of the crucifix, ritual, candles, and obeisances. In 1643, they passed what is known as the "Root and Branch Act," which abolished bishops, deans,

and chapters, and was supposed completely to exterminate popery. The same year, an act was passed for the calling together of an "Assembly of Godly Divines" to set in order the doctrines and practices of the Church of England, afterward known as the Westminster Assembly. In 1644, in order to obtain the military aid of the Scots in the civil war, Parliament adopted a Covenant substantially the same as the Scotch Covenant, and ordered every man of the nation to subscribe to it. The Presbyterians showed an intolerance that pretty well matched that of Laud. They had been loud in their demands for religious liberty for themselves, but when they got the power into their own hands, they turned on their brother dissenters and persecuted them with about as much rancor and severity as Laud had shown. In 1648, the Presbyterian Parliament proposed a statute making death the penalty for eight errors of religious doctrine, the most important being the denial of God, the Trinity, and the canonical books of Scripture. The same statute prescribed sixteen erroneous opinions, for which the penalty was commitment to prison. No definite term was fixed, and the offender could be kept in prison at the discretion of the magistrate. One of these specified errors was denial of infant baptism. December 6, 1648, Cromwell took matters into his own hands, stationed Colonel Pride and a troop of soldiers at the door of Parliament, and ordered forty of the chief Presbyterians to be excluded. Thus,

by " Pride's Purge," was the period of Presbyterian domination brought to a summary conclusion.

84. The Westminster Assembly

By authority of Parliament, one hundred and twenty-one divines, including several bishops, were invited to become members of this assembly, but none of the bishops accepted the invitation, the king having forbidden their attendance. The first attempt of the Assembly was to revise the Thirty-nine Articles. They soon abandoned the work of revision, however, for the construction of an entirely new Confession of Faith. The preparation of the Longer and Shorter Catechisms followed. It was never the intention that subscription should be required to the Confession from all Christians, but only from ministers, and perhaps teachers; but every one was to be taught the Catechism, which contained the same doctrine in simpler form. A Directory for Worship was the last work of the Assembly, and this was intended to supersede the Book of Common Prayer. This Assembly was one of the ablest ecclesiastical bodies in the history of the Church, and many of its members were as eminent for piety as they were for learning. The system that they thus outlined was never accepted in England, except locally, as for instance in London. There are said to have been two counties in England, Middlesex, and Lancashire, where the Presbyterian system was pretty thoroughly put into effect, but

elsewhere it only had a nominal existence. Those of the clergy, however, who could not sign the covenant, were driven out of their churches. The numbers of those thus deprived of their benefices are variously estimated from one to two thousand, clergy who either could not or would not subscribe to the Covenant, the Westminster Confession, and the use of the Directory of Worship, as well as agree to the disuse of the prayer book. They were members of the Church of England who still retained their love for the old doctrines and form of worship.

85. The Commonwealth

The result of the dissolution of Parliament was to establish a military despotism. The people of England had rebelled against the tyranny of Charles and Laud, and found themselves subject to the tyranny of Cromwell. Of course he observed more or less the forms of law. His was a benevolent despotism, and in many ways the best government that England ever had. Cromwell succeeded in making England respected and feared throughout Europe. We are concerned more directly with the religious system than with the civil, but the two are bound together pretty closely in this period. Cromwell assumed the same power in the Church as in the State. It was fortunate that in religious affairs he was at least two centuries ahead of his time, for he believed in toleration and would have given equal religious privileges to all if he had been left to him-

self. There were limits, however, which even he could not pass, in spite of his apparently unlimited power. He had to make exception of the Catholics and Jews in his measures of toleration. He also proceeded against the Church of England clergy with more severity than he personally favored, because of the urging of the extreme Puritans. What he accomplished was to establish practical freedom of worship throughout England, and to maintain a State religion in favor of no one sect. He admitted Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, and others, on equal footing, and appointed a committee of "Triers," composed of men of different denominations, to examine into the qualifications of ministers. These had a general power of visitation, and were expected to examine the incumbent of every parish and see if he was a man of piety and good character—the only standard required or allowed. In particular, no inquiry was to be made into the peculiar religious views of ministers.

86. The Restoration and Final Settlement

The death of Cromwell left no one capable of carrying on the government, and after a period of confusion Charles II was restored to the throne. He made a promise of "liberty to tender consciences" and of approval to all measures his Parliaments might pass. He seems to have done what he could to fulfil the promise, but the reaction against Puritanism was too strong to be controlled. The

Church of England was restored, with little change from that of Elizabeth, and has remained since with almost no change. This was generally expected, but severe persecution of the Puritans now followed. An Act of Uniformity in 1662 required the use of the prayer book in every parish, and commanded all ministers who lacked episcopal ordination to secure it. August 24, was set for the beginning of the new order, and on that day two thousand ministers left their parishes because they could not conscientiously comply with the law. This was a second St. Bartholomew, as disastrous to the Church of England as the day of massacre had been to France. Several acts were also passed by Parliament for the repression of this dissent. The Conventicle Act prohibited all meetings in private houses, of more than five persons not belonging to the family. The Five Mile Act forbade any dissenting minister to go within five miles of any borough or corporate town. The Test Act excluded from public office every one who could not present a certificate that he had within a year received the Communion according to the rites of the Church of England. It was for breach of the Conventicle Act that John Bunyan was imprisoned for twelve years in Bedford jail, to which imprisonment we owe the "Pilgrim's Progress."

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the Reformation. Green is especially judicious and trustworthy. Lingard gives the story from the moderate Roman Catholic point of view. Geikie's *English Reformation* (New York, 1879) is too uncompromisingly Protestant. Cobbett's, though written by a Protestant, who hated the Church of England, leans too strongly to the Catholic side. If both Geikie and Cobbett are taken in alternate doses, their errors will neutralize each other. Valuable monographs are: Gee and Hardy, *Documents Illustrative of English Church History* (New York, 1896), quite indispensable; Hardwick, *History of the Articles of Religion* (Bohn, $1.50); Proctor, *History of the Book of Common Prayer* (Macmillan, $3); Gregory, *Puritanism* (Revell, $2). Biographies of much value are: Carlyle's *Oliver Cromwell,* to be had in many editions; Morley's *Cromwell* is a later and very able study; Benson's *Archbishop Laud* (London, 1887) is a sympathetic study of a much misunderstood man. Mitchell's *Westminster Assembly* (Baird Lectures, 1882) throws great light on the Presbyterian party, while Skeats's *History of the Free Churches of England* (London, 1891), is the one book that satisfactorily covers the early history of all Nonconformist bodies.

The Quiz

How did England's wealth compare with that of other European kingdoms in the sixteenth century?

Her population? Was her government efficient? Was there a middle class? How was the crown disposed toward the papacy? What was the cause of the quarrel? How did the people feel toward the Church? Was there any general demand for reform? What were the relations of Henry VIII to the pope? What caused the dispute between them? What policy did Henry adopt? What relation to the Church of England did he assume? What did he do about the Bible? What were the Ten Articles? What were the Six Articles? How were the monasteries treated? When did the real reformation begin? Who was its leading spirit? What were the chief reforms made in the Church of England? On what does the title of the kings of England rest? Why was not Lady Jane Grey lawful queen? Why was Mary called "Bloody"? How many martyrs during her reign? Name some of the more prominent. Why was Elizabeth a Protestant? Why were Catholics put to death during her reign? How did they differ from the Protestant martyrs of Mary's time? What was the Elizabethan "settlement"? What inconsistencies are found in the prayer book? What is the theory of the Church of England? Who were the Puritans? Did they all agree? How did James I treat them? How did the King James translation come to be made? When did it come into general use? What is meant by Anglo-Catholicism? Who was William Laud? What was the Court of High Commission? What was the Star

Chamber? Were the penalties inflicted by these courts legal? Why not? Why do we speak of the Long Parliament? What was the character of its first legislation? Were the Presbyterians tolerant when they obtained power? What did Cromwell do to check them? What was the Westminster Assembly? What three documents were its chief work? Was the system planned ever enforced? What was the nature of Cromwell's government? Did he favor toleration? Unlimited? How did he rule the Church? Why were the Stuarts restored? What was done about the Church? What was the second St. Bartholomew's day? In what way were Nonconformists treated?

CHAPTER IX

THE RADICAL REFORMATION

87. The Swiss Anabaptists

In the year 1523, differences began to develop among the followers of Zwingli, at Zurich. He had begun his labors by declaring that the Scriptures were to be the rule in all things. It was not long before some of the people discovered that there is no more authority in the New Testament for the baptism of infants than for feasts, images, and the mass. Zwingli was at first inclined to agree with this view, but he soon discovered that it would be impossible to gain the approval of the council for so radical a reform, and a reformation without the council seemed to him impossible. He thereupon changed his ground, retained the connection of the Church with the State, and defended infant baptism. Others found themselves unable to change, and separated from him. They soon saw that their own baptism received in infancy was null, and were baptized on confession of faith. They were therefore named Anabaptists, or rebaptizers. At first they were satisfied with being affused or sprinkled, but becoming better instructed in the Scriptures, practised immersion. From this time onward, both methods of baptism are found among the Anabap-

tists, to whom the question of the proper subjects of baptism seemed more important than the proper act of baptism.

88. Origin and Doctrines

It is a question still unsettled whether the Anabaptists originated in connection with the Zurich reform, or are a revival of an earlier sect or sects. Their principles were substantially identical with those of the Waldensians and Petrobrusians. They held strongly to the doctrine of a regenerate church; that is, a church consisting only of those who had a personal experience of the grace of God, and were baptized on a profession of faith in Christ, and in addition gave evidence by a godly life of the truth of their profession. They rejected the Roman doctrines and practices that are incompatible with this principle, as well as without authority in the Scriptures. Most of them were opposed to the bearing of arms and the taking of oaths. Some favored a community of goods.

89. Persecution Begins

The questions at issue were discussed in two disputations, by order of the Zurich council, and the Anabaptists were declared to be defeated. Anabaptism was thenceforth treated as a crime. Those guilty of it were first fined, then some were banished, others were drowned. The leaders being thus killed or driven away, it proved easy to suppress the rest,

and the Anabaptists gradually disappeared from Zurich. They had, however, appeared in some of the other cantons, notably in Bern, and there they proved to be less dependent on leaders and more persistent in the midst of persecution. They have survived in this canton to the present time, and since 1830 have been divided into two parties, one practising immersion, the other sprinkling. Large numbers of the Swiss Anabaptists emigrated, some to Poland, others to the Palatinate, many to America.

90. Balthasar Hubmaier

The most influential man among the Anabaptists, because of the wide circulation of his numerous writings, was a native of Bavaria, born near Augsburg about 1481. He was educated at the University of Freiburg, where he came under the influence of John Eck, became lecturer in theology, and followed his teacher to the University of Ingolstadt, where he was professor and college preacher. Afterward he was cathedral preacher at Regensburg, where he gained a wide repute for eloquence. He became chief preacher of the town of Waldshut, near the canton of Schaffhausen, and so came into close relations with the Swiss leaders. He was present at the second disputation of Zurich and took a prominent part in it, but soon after adopted a more radical course than Zwingli approved, and finally became an Anabaptist in 1525. Driven out of Waldshut by the Austrian government, he went to Zurich, where he

was arrested, tortured, and forced to make a partial recantation of his teachings.

91. Anabaptists in Moravia

Before this time, Anabaptists had made their appearance in Moravia, and when he was released at Zurich Hübmaier made his way to that country. Owing to the political confusion of the time a considerable measure of toleration was granted here, and the gospel was preached with zeal and found acceptance. Some important nobles, including the proprietors of Nikolsburg, the Lords Lichtenstein, were converted to Anabaptism. But soon the Austrian government asserted its authority, Hübmaier was arrested and burned at Vienna in 1528, and the Anabaptists were severely persecuted. In the intervals of peace enjoyed by them they prospered greatly and established communities that were models of thrift and economic efficiency. In spite of many sufferings and almost insuperable difficulties, they maintained their existence down to the early years of the nineteenth century, when all traces of them vanish.

92. John Denck

The leader of the South German Anabaptists was born in Bavaria about 1495. He was a student at Basel in 1523, and took his Master's degree there. He then became rector of St. Sebald's school at Nuremberg, a free city where the Lutheran doctrine

had prevailed. For some differences from the Lutheran theology he was banished. Afterward we find him at Augsburg, where he was baptized by Hübmaier, and became the leader of the Anabaptists who were very numerous in Augsburg and its vicinity. Denck was one of the most learned among the Anabaptists, and with Hätzer issued a translation of the Hebrew prophets into German. He believed in the final restoration of the wicked, but was probably not a Unitarian, as was charged by some opponents. He was a mystic, and anticipated the doctrines of George Fox, the founder of the Friends. His last years were spent in wandering from place to place, and he died at Basel in 1527.

93. Melchior Hofmann

Denck's successor in the leadership of the German Anabaptists was born in Swabia about 1490. He had only a slight education, but became an ardent student of the Scriptures and a follower of Luther. Some years he spent as a preacher in Sweden and Denmark, and published his first writing in Stockholm, in 1526—an interpretation of Daniel. About the beginning of 1529 he went to Strassburg, where he adopted Anabaptist views and soon was their acknowledged leader. His study of the prophetic writings had convinced him that Christ was speedily to return to earth and set up his millennial kingdom. He fixed the summer of 1533 for the consummation, and assured his followers that

Strassburg was to be the New Jerusalem. He was arrested by the magistrates and thrown into prison in May of that year, where he lingered for ten years before he died.

94. The Münster Outbreak

In the last months of his labors, Hofmann made a journey into Holland, where he baptized many converts, among them a baker of Haarlem, named Jan Mathys. After Hofmann's imprisonment, Mathys gave himself out to be a prophet, and found many of the Anabaptists credulous enough to receive him as such. A revolution occurred at this time in the city of Münster, the prince-bishop being driven out and the Lutheran faith being established. Mathys and many of his followers flocked into the city, and got possession of the town and its government. They set up the new kingdom of Christ, believing that he was about to appear, but the Lutheran princes sent forces to besiege the city, and Mathys was killed in a sortie. One of his followers, John Bockhold, of Leyden, declared himself to be the successor of Mathys, and was proclaimed the King David of this New Jerusalem. In imitation of David he established a harem, and polygamy became the law of the new kingdom. These, and other foolish excesses of these Münster Anabaptists, alienated the sympathy of others of like faith, who had been expected to come to their relief, and the city was taken in June, 1535. The leaders were put

to death with cruel tortures, and their bodies were hung in iron cages to the towers of a church in the market-place.

95. Persecution of the Anabaptists

Even before this the persecution of Anabaptists was general in Germany. The Elector of Saxony, the friend and supporter of Luther, began to punish them by fines, imprisonment, and banishment, as early as 1528. In 1529 the Diet of Speyer decreed that all Anabaptists should be put to death, by fire or sword; and the princes who made their famous protest, and demanded religious liberty for themselves, fully approved this treatment of these heretics. But the disorders at Münster were made the pretext for a still greater severity; all Anabaptists were included in a common condemnation. Everything was done to affix an ineffaceable stigma of disgrace upon the name Anabaptist. It became the symbol of all that was fanatical in creed and immoral in conduct. The most stringent laws against Anabaptists were passed in every part of Germany, and enforced without mercy and without distinctions. As against the kind of Anabaptists who, in small numbers comparatively, had been engaged in these disorders, this policy was not without justification; but as against Anabaptists in general it was grossly unjust. It was, however, effective. In ten years there were few avowed Anabaptists left in Germany, and those few maintained an existence

only by the utmost secrecy and caution. The development of the Anabaptist movement was checked, but not stopped; the stream, turned aside by this obstacle, found a course elsewhere.

96. Menno Simons

The man with whom this new Anabaptist movement was connected was born in Friesland, according to the best authorities, in 1492. Little is known of his youth, except that he was educated for the priesthood and was ordained about 1515. Though the Reformation did not extend to his region until later, its echoes probably reached him, and confirmed in him doubts that he had from the first regarding the doctrine of transubstantiation. For a time Menno tried to put away these doubts as temptations of the devil, but at length he took to the study of the Scriptures, which he had before regarded as a dangerous and seducing book. Seducing from the errors of Rome he indeed found it, for in no long time he was a new man because of that study, and began to preach with a new evangelical power. The final change in his opinions was produced in 1531, when the burning of a poor Anabaptist tailor at the stake made an impression on his soul from which he was never to be freed, until the Spirit of God had led him into the truth. Until 1536 he continued to be a priest of the Roman Church, long after he had ceased to hold or teach Catholic doctrine; but at length his conscience could

no longer tolerate such a compromise, and he resigned his office and began the great work of his life as an independent religious teacher.

97. Spread of the Mennonites

This work of Menno ended only with his death, in 1559. He preached the gospel throughout Northern Europe and gathered thousands of followers. His last years were spent in Holstein, and he left behind him a large number of writings in which the principles since professed by his followers are fully set forth. These followers were found in all parts of Northern Europe, but they flourished most on Dutch soil, for in Holland they were granted toleration. In the Netherlands they exist in considerable numbers until this day. Elsewhere they are mostly a feeble and scattered folk, except in the United States. Successive immigrations have brought the majority of the Mennonites in the world to American soil, and they are now found in nearly every State in the Union. Twelve branches of them are reported, with various differences in polity and doctrine, aggregating in 1890 a membership of forty-one thousand five hundred and forty-one. As the followers of Menno had no formal creeds and professed the Scriptures alone as their standard of faith and practice, it was natural that considerable differences should arise among them. They became divided into High and Low (*Obere* and *Untere*). The former held to vigorous discipline, or the

"ban"; condemned the use of buttons and the practice of shaving. The Low party favored a mild discipline and would reserve the "ban" for cases of flagrant immorality, while they regarded the use of buttons and shaving the beard as matters for individual decision, not for church rule. During a period of temporary persecution in the Netherlands many Dutch Anabaptists found their way to England, where not a few of them became victims of the zeal of English monarchs for religious orthodoxy and were burned at the stake.

98. The Socinians

An offshoot of the Anabaptists were the Socinians, who originated in Poland, as the result of the teachings of Lælius and Faustus Socinus. These leaders were of Italian birth. Lælius, the elder, was a friend of some of the reformers, and never published his theological writings; but his nephew, Faustus, took refuge in Poland about 1579, where he published both his own and his uncle's writings, and many of the Anabaptists joined him. The Rakow catechism, issued in 1605, gave a formal exposition of the Socinian theology, which was the beginning of modern Unitarianism. But though they denied the doctrine of the Trinity, they accepted the authority of the Scriptures and miracles. Most of the distinctive doctrines of Calvinism were rejected by them, and they revived the idea of the atonement first set forth by Abelard, that the death of Christ

was only an object-lesson of the divine love, and in no sense vicarious. Many of the Reformed clergy of the Netherlands became Socinian, and the Presbyterians of England were also seriously affected by their doctrines.

99. The English Separatists

One wing of the Puritans became too radical in their views to remain in the Church of England. Robert Browne, about 1582, began to teach that the Church was hopelessly corrupt, and it was the duty of true Christians to separate from her. Any company of believers, he held, might constitute a church, and had the power to revive ecclesiastical offices and ordinances without apostolic succession or human sanction. Groups of Separatists formed from time to time were broken up, and their ministers were imprisoned, banished, in some cases put to death. One of the earliest of these met at Scrooby manor, in Nottinghamshire. One of its "teachers" was John Smyth, a graduate of Cambridge, lecturer at Lincoln from 1600 to 1605. Another was John Robinson. William Bradford was one of the leading members. Persecution led the whole church to emigrate to Holland, where part of them, including Robinson and Bradford, settled at Leyden and the rest at Amsterdam. It was the Leyden group that became the nucleus of the party that emigrated in the Mayflower and settled at Plymouth, Mass., in 1620. In 1616 a Separatist church was organized in

Southwark, London, and Henry Jacob became its "teacher." From this congregation sprang the various churches of the Independent or Congregational order in England.

100. The General Baptists

When John Smyth and his followers emigrated to Holland, he formed the Second English church at Amsterdam, and supported himself by practising medicine. Here he became acquainted with the theology of Arminius, and here, it is reasonable to suppose, he learned the Mennonite theory of the nature of the church. If he had had doubts before concerning infant baptism they were now confirmed into conviction that it is not warranted by the Scriptures, and that a scriptural church should consist of the regenerate only, who have been baptized on a personal confession of faith. He gave utterance to these views in a tract, for which he was disfellowshiped by his former friends. Smyth, Thomas Helwys, and thirty-six others then formed in 1608 the first Baptist church, composed of Englishmen, that is known to have existed. Smyth is generally called the "Se-Baptist," which means that he baptized himself. This is probably true, and in this respect he resembled Roger Williams. He held that the true apostolic succession is a succession not of outward ordinances and visible organizations, but of true faith and practice. He therefore believed that the apostolic succession had been lost, and that

the only way to recover it was to begin a church anew on the apostolic model. Accordingly, having first baptized himself, he baptized Helwys and the rest, and so constituted the church. They soon after issued a Confession of Faith, Arminian in its theology, but distinct in its claim that a church should be composed only of baptized believers, and that only such should "taste of the Lord's Supper." Persecution seems to have become less severe in England soon after, for in 1611, Thomas Helwys and others returned to London and founded the first Baptist church, composed of Englishmen, known to have existed on English soil. This church was also Arminian in theology, and churches of this type came to be called General Baptists, because they held to a general atonement for all men, while orthodox Calvinists then held to a "particular" atonement, for the elect only. By the year 1644, there were forty-seven churches of this faith in England, according to their opponents—possibly there were more. Once they had a fair opportunity to preach New Testament truth among their countrymen, Baptists increased rapidly in England.

101. The Particular Baptists

The Calvinistic Baptists of England had an entirely distinct origin. We have seen that in 1616 there was a congregation of Separatists—or, as we should now say, Congregationalists—organized in London. From the beginning there were persons in this

congregation who thought that they had stopped short of a complete return to New Testament faith and practice, and opposed the administration of baptism to infants. After a time these became so numerous that they desired to form a separate congregation, in which the practice might be conformed to their views, and were peaceably dismissed for that purpose; and these dismissed members formed the first Particular Baptist church of London, September 12, 1633. In 1640 another secession occurred from this same Separatist church, which had been meeting in two parts. Some persons became convinced that baptism "ought to be by dipping the body into the water," and as they knew no Christians who so practised, they sent one of their number to Holland, where he was immersed by a Mennonite minister of the church that practised immersion, and returning baptized the rest. Other churches seem to have followed this example, so far at least as to adopt immersion, and in 1644 seven churches in London issued a Confession of Faith, in which for the first time it is distinctly avowed: "that the way and manner of dispensing this ordinance" of baptism "is dipping or plunging the body under water; it being a sign, must answer the thing signified, which is, that interest the saints have in the death, burial, and resurrection of Christ." In a few years all the Baptist churches adopted this practice, which has ever since been associated with their name.

102. The Friends

George Fox, a native of Leicestershire, born in 1624, became a "seeker" at the age of nineteen, and for years could find no peace of mind. He believed in 1647, and again in 1649, that he had distinct revelations, which made known to him the fact that every man is enlightened by the divine light of Christ, and that all must come to the Spirit if they would know Christ or the Scriptures aright. He began to proclaim this principle of the inner light, and to make converts, who formed the first separate societies about 1653. The first discipline was set forth by the London meeting in 1668, and from that time the Friends—or Quakers, as they were derisively called—increased rapidly. Fox was not altogether clear in his teachings, and it is not certain whether he believed in the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity, but he certainly rejected the distinctive features of Calvinism. Many of the early Friends were drawn from the General Baptist churches, and many of the usages that are associated with Friends are survivals of sixteenth-century customs among Baptists; such as the wearing of the plain garb, the use of the "plain" language; "first month" and "first day" instead of the common names for months and days; and the like. The Friends mark the extreme of the radical reformation. They attempted to reduce the outward forms of religion to the lowest terms, to push the Puritan principle to the last practical limit. It is a curious

commentary on the weakness of human nature that the attempt resulted in the strictest formalism to be found in any Christian body. By 1700 the Friends were estimated to number one hundred thousand.

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the Friends' Society, Philadelphia, is the chief authority for the early history of that body.

The Quiz

How and why did differences among the reformers arise in Zurich? What was Zwingli's course? What does Anabaptist mean? Did the Anabaptists originate with the Reformation? How were they related to the Waldenses and Petrobrusians? What did the Zurich council do? Were there Anabaptists elsewhere? Give an account of Balthasar Hübmaier. Also of the Anabaptists of Moravia. Who was John Denck? What was his relation to the Anabaptists? What were the teachings of Hofmann? What result did they have? Were the Anabaptists responsible for the Münster troubles? When did persecution of Anabaptists begin and where? Why did the persecuted always become persecutors, so soon as they had the power? Who was Menno Simons? Where did he labor? Where are the Mennonites found? Did they remain united? How did the Socinians originate? What were their doctrines? Who were the Separatists? Were they Baptists? Who was John Smyth? How did the General Baptists originate? Why "General"? What was the origin of the Particular Baptists? How was immersion introduced among them? Who was George Fox? When did the Friends begin as a separate body? Whence did they derive many of their usages? What is their significance?

CHAPTER X

THE COUNTER-REFORMATION

103. Paul III

At the accession of Paul III, the papacy was in desperate straits. The folly of his predecessors (Leo X, Adrian VI, and Clement VII) had precipitated the Reformation and extended its progress. The Teutonic peoples, embracing Central and Northern Europe and the British Isles, were already lost to the Church; the Huguenots were threatening the Catholic supremacy in France; the Reformation was making alarming progress in Spain and Italy. The Church could not hope to withstand the progress of the Reformation without a counter-reformation; it must purify itself or cease to exist. Adrian VI had seen this, but he had not the skill or strength to effect reforms; he struggled single-handed during his brief pontificate and accomplished little. The election of Cardinal Alexander Farnese promised little in the way of reform. He had twice been an unsuccessful candidate, and was rejected principally because of his known vileness of character. He had four illegitimate children, and one of his first acts as pope was to give the cardinal's hat to two of his grandchildren, aged respectively fourteen and sixteen years. This act of nepotism accomplished, he

devoted the rest of his pontificate (1534-1549) to wise, energetic, and reformatory administration.

104. His Reforms

Paul III appointed six learned and devoted ecclesiastics to the college of cardinals, permanently raising the tone of that body. Among those thus promoted were Gasparo Contarini, Reginald Pole, Pietro Caraffa, and Jacopo Sadoleti. A second measure of reform was the calling of a general council, for which there had long been a demand from all parts of the Church. The call convening the council was published in 1536, and the date of meeting was fixed for May 1, 1538, but several postponements followed and the council did not finally convene until 1545. The pope appointed a commission to prepare a plan of reformation of the Church, of which Contarini was the leading spirit, and they reported a *Consilium de emendanda ecclesia,* with thirty propositions of reform. These were surreptitiously printed, and Luther reissued them in 1538 with characteristic comments. They were too radical and stringent, and though the pope manifested no disfavor the Church did not respond to the scheme, and it fell dead. Several other movements for the bettering of the Church either originated during this pontificate or received a great impetus from Paul III. The revival of monachism had already begun under Clement VII, but Paul III encouraged it and seems to have given it a new

impulse. The establishment of the Society of Jesus was directly due to him, the order founded by Ignatius Loyola being confirmed by him in 1540. The most potent of all the new measures, the reestablishment of the Inquisition by the bull *Licet ab initio* (July 21, 1542) was his sole act. Henceforth there was a general Holy Office at Rome, with branches in all the Catholic States of Europe, directed by one mind and one will, for the complete extirpation of heresy. The results of this new policy were striking even during the life of Paul III. At his death, the future of the Reformation in Germany was dark; it was crushed out of Italy and Spain, and strictly limited in France. The papacy had won back a large part of its losses and was to win back still more.

105. The Oratory of Divine Love

The center of the Counter-Reformation was Italy, the seat of the papacy and the country of the majority of the cardinals. Like the Protestant Reformation, the Catholic Counter-Reformation was first of all a revival of religion in the Church. One of the earliest manifestations of renewed spiritual life was the organization formed by fifty or more devout Catholics, known as the Oratory of Divine Love. This was not an order, but a voluntary association of men who desired the promotion of personal piety in the Church, as an antidote to the worldly and practically pagan tone hitherto prevalent in the Roman Court and among Italian ecclesiastics gen-

erally. Some of its members partially sympathized with the Reformation—Contarini, for example, held to justification by faith—but it was a reform of character and life, rather than of doctrine, that they desired to see. Two groups developed after a time among the members of the Oratory. One was led by Cardinal Contarini, who favored such moderate reform of the Church as would meet the supposed demands of the more conservative Protestants. He was sent as papal legate to the Diet of Regensburg, in 1541, where Eck and the ablest Catholic theologians held a colloquy with Melanchthon and Bucer, to arrange terms of compromise. This proved impossible, and after this failure the more radical wing among the Catholics, led by Cardinal Caraffa, who was in favor of a strictly Catholic and anti-Protestant reform, gained and held the ascendency. Caraffa, in due time, became Pope Paul IV (1555-1559) and directed the actual course of the Counter-Reformation.

106. The Revival of Monachism

The same desire for an increase of personal piety that produced the Oratory of Divine Love led also to a widespread revival of monachism, always the highest type of piety in the Catholic Church. Matteo di Basio, a devout Franciscan, renewed the faithful observance of the rules of St. Francis, restored the original hood (*capuche*) of the founder's garb, and gained so many followers that in 1528 they were

confirmed as a separate congregation, known as Capuchins. The defection to Protestantism of their vicar-general, Bernardino Ochino (1543), was a great blow to the new order, but it survived and became very numerous in all Catholic countries. The Benedictines, Carmelites, Cistercians, and other of the older orders, also participated in this revival, renewed their activities and everywhere increased their numbers.

But this by no means exhausted the new monastic zeal. A large number of new orders sprang into existence, partly because the zeal and enthusiasm of their founders could not be restrained within the limits of existing orders, partly because quite new channels of activity, distinctly practical, were sought by the pious Catholics of this age. Cardinal Caraffa was largely instrumental in establishing the order of the Theatines, who not only renounced all property, but would not even beg, relying for their support on whatever Providence might send them. They engaged actively in the work of missions, but still more in the education of the clergy. Filippo di Neri (1515-1595), a devout Italian priest, organized a society in a hall or oratory in Rome. The meetings were held for prayers, readings from the Bible, and sacred music (whence the name, oratorio). This had so great success that in 1575 a papal bull recognized it as the Congregation of the Oratory. The members are not monks, do not take vows, and are not required to renounce their property. All are

on a perfect equality, even the superior must take his turn of service of others. The priests of the Oratory have devoted themselves from the beginning, with great success, to biblical studies. The Brothers of Mercy were founded in Portugal by John di Dio, and chose as their peculiar work the care of the poor and sick, as did also the Ursalines, an order of women founded by Angela Merici in Italy, and recognized in 1544. The latter, however, added to their work as nurses the education of young girls, in which their convents obtained and long held the chief place in all Catholic countries.

107. Recuperative Power of Romanism

The original monachism was a revival of religion, such as it was, and this sixteenth-century movement reproduced many of the characteristics of the earlier centuries. This zeal in the founding of new orders must be looked upon as an attempt on the part of devout Catholics to lead their Church to a higher plane of Christian living, and to more efficient forms of Christian service. All classes and conditions of men were embraced in the purposes of these orders. The movement was favored by the popes, and especially Paul III, because it seemed to be the most effective means of counteracting Protestantism

Nothing in the history of the Reformation movement illustrates so strikingly the recuperative religious forces still left in the Catholic Church, in spite of its corruptions and errors, as the formation

of these societies for the instruction of the ignorant, the relief of the sick and the poor, and the general amelioration of society. Those who thought the old Church was dead, or even moribund, had greatly mistaken the fact. There was abundance of spiritual vitality still latent, as this movement unmistakably proves. It may have been largely misguided; we may disapprove the channels in which it chose to manifest itself; but this should not blind us to the existence of the life, or close our eyes to the fact that the Catholic Church was still a great spiritual force to be reckoned with in the world.

108. The Society of Jesus

The most effective agency of the Counter-Reformation was the new order founded by Ignatius Loyola, a Spaniard, who gathered a small company of religious enthusiasts like himself, that were recognized as an order in 1540. Their first idea was to be missionaries to the Saracens, but that proving impracticable, Francis Xavier was sent as a missionary to the Indies, and the rest of the number gave themselves to the work of education. Great sums of money were soon put at the disposal of the Jesuits; they established chairs of theology at the universities, and founded schools and colleges. They became the confessors of the titled and wealthy, and thus acquired great political and social influence. The order differed radically from the older orders in that its ideal was not at all monastic. Its mem-

bers took the three monastic vows of obedience, poverty, and chastity, but they did not live the monastic life. Their ideal was not separation from the world, to secure personal salvation, but living in the world and for the Church, and securing salvation by service. In this they were more distinctly Christian than the older monachism.

109. Their Moral Teachings

The Jesuit theologians developed some peculiar ethical principles. They taught a doctrine of "probableism," according to which it is enough to justify moral action that a given course is probably right; and the opinion of a single doctor of repute is enough to establish such probability. It is enough that the course has any degree of probability in its favor, and it is allowable to choose the less probable rather than the more probable opinion. As the opinion of some doctor could be found for almost anything, this was practically to say that it is ethically right to do as one pleases. They taught also the principle of "directing the intention," so choosing a worthy end that whatever one does becomes sanctified by the ultimate motive. Or, in briefer terms, the end justifies the means. Mental reservations are lawful, said the Jesuit teachers, by which words may be made to convey to the hearer an impression contrary to the truth, while the speaker has the truth in mind. Such ethical principles were found to offer no check to lying, murder, or lust, and their general

acceptance would disintegrate society. But the holding and practice of such principles made the Jesuits exceedingly effective in promoting the reaction toward Romanism. They were restrained by no ordinary scruples from doing and saying anything that they thought would promote the glory and power of the Church.

110. The Council of Trent

From the time Luther appealed from the pope to a general council (1518) there had been constant agitation for such a council to be called, and Charles V had repeatedly pledged himself that a council should meet in Germany. To this the popes were unalterably opposed, and they temporized until they succeeded in having it meet in Italy, where they could control it more effectively. It met at Trent, December 15, 1545, and was finally dissolved December 4, 1563, but was in actual session little more than five years. It accomplished much for the Catholic Church, in making a clear and unmistakable definition of the Catholic faith, in rejecting decisively the characteristic doctrines of Protestantism, and so leaving the two systems sharply distinguished. Hardly less important were the practical reforms undertaken, such as the better education of the clergy, the abolition of pluralities, prohibition of the sale of indulgences, and the like. The authorization of an index of prohibited books under the direction of the pope, which led to the appointment of

the Congregation of the Index, was also an important gain. In short, by the action of the council, the Church was considerably purified from its abuses, and greatly united and strengthened, so as to present to its opponents a consistent and uniform policy, supported by all the power that it could muster from any source.

III. Revival of the Inquisition

As the Inquisition had fallen into comparative disuse, a revival of its efficiency played a large part in the reactionary measures of the Church, and was perhaps the most practically useful feature of the Counter-Reformation. Paul III established the Congregation of the Holy Office permanently at Rome, under the personal direction of the pope, and thus assured a more consistent policy and uniform operation than had before been possible. But it was the pontificate of Paul IV that brought this agency to its perfection. That pope succeeded in covering all Italy with a network of Inquisition offices, and in this work he fully availed himself of the services of the Jesuits, so promoting their interests in turn that he was called their second founder. His last words to the cardinals assembled about his deathbed were in commendation of the Inquisition, which he considered the chief instrument for the advancement of the Church. It was in Spain that the Inquisition had survived in its highest efficiency, and there we naturally find the earliest symptoms of revival. The

motive was twofold: the Spanish Inquisition, as originally established under Cardinal Ximenes, was quite as much a political as a religious system of repression, and it had never lost this semi-political character. When Charles V felt it needful to establish his political supremacy over the Netherlands more completely, he introduced there a branch of the Spanish Inquisition, in 1522. January 16, 1556, he abdicated in favor of his son Philip II, who continued and intensified this policy. In 1559, Philip reenacted and enforced in the Netherlands the edict of 1550. This made it a penal offense to possess any heretical book; to read, expound, teach, or even converse about the Scriptures; to hold a conventicle in one's house; or to entertain any heretical opinion. Those guilty were to be punished by the sword, if men; women were to be buried alive—this in case they did not persist; the penalty for persistence was execution by fire. Any who harbored heretics or neglected to denounce them, were liable to the same penalties.

112. Disunion of the Protestants

While the Catholic party were thus strengthening their position by every possible expedient, the Protestants were becoming more helplessly divided and weakened. Though the Reformed Churches had no legal status, they were becoming very numerous and were superseding the Lutheran in many provinces and cities. The hatred and distrust shown by

Luther at the beginning of the Reformation had been continued by his followers toward the Reformed, and no co-operation between them was possible. The Lutherans themselves had been hopelessly split up by controversies for which Melanchthon was largely responsible, and these controversies were only partially ended by the adoption of the Formula of Concord, in 1580. The persecution of all who did not accept the State religion still further weakened the forces of Protestantism. The loss of their wisest leaders, by natural death and by assassination, had left them without men at their head of such force of character as to compel respect and make obedience easy. In such circumstances it was evident that the Catholic powers would seize their opportunity, and attempt to undo the Reformation by force of arms. A convenient pretext was always at hand in the disputes caused by the "ecclesiastical reservation" of 1555. The provisions of the peace had not been observed in good faith on either side. Many episcopates had been secularized by the Protestants, and on the other hand many cases of persecution of their Protestant subjects by Catholic rulers could be pointed out.

113. The Thirty Years' War

The actual beginning of the conflict was not in Germany, however. Bohemia refused to receive Ferdinand of Austria as its king, and, exercising its old right of election, chose Elector Frederick of

the Palatine as king. He accepted, and Ferdinand declared war to recover his "rights." Frederick was easily defeated, and followed into the Palatinate and defeated there. The victorious Ferdinand then turned his arms against other German States, and soon the Protestants found themselves fighting for their lives and religion. The war thus lightly begun dragged along for thirty years, with varying fortunes. Neither party was strong enough to win a decisive victory over the other, and both became thoroughly worn-out by the struggle. The intervention of Gustavus Adolphus and a series of brilliant victories under his leadership saved the Protestant cause from utter defeat, while his untimely death in turn saved the Catholic cause, and made a divided Germany permanent. The peace of Westphalia, concluded in 1648, was a compromise on the same general lines as the peace of Augsburg, and proved permanent. It took the year 1624 as a "normal year," and provided that the religious and political status of that year should be restored and maintained. The religion of the Protestant States was guaranteed, and the Reformed were given equal rights with the Lutherans. Many generations were required to repair the losses caused by this long struggle, the most terrible scourge that Germany ever experienced. Towns and villages without number had disappeared, and much of the land had relapsed into a wilderness. The population is said to have decreased one-half, and two-thirds of the

movable property had been destroyed. The people had become demoralized during the vicissitudes of war, and a period of the greatest religious depression and moral license ensued. It was a terrible price to pay for a partial religious freedom, and an awful penalty for the cherishing of religious bigotry.

114. General Character of the Reformation

A general survey of the results of the great forward movement of European society, commonly known as the Reformation, will not confirm some of the long-cherished popular impressions concerning it. The traditional Protestant view of the Reformation does not accord with the facts that our study has solidly established. It was ostensibly a religio-ecclesiastical revolution; it was quite as much a social and political upheaval. It succeeded permanently only among the Teutonic peoples, who were just then undergoing the most rapid social and political changes in their history. Wherever the Reformation became established, it was triumphant not because the teachings of the reformers were true, and so were accepted gladly by the people; but because those in authority, for reasons of their own —generally selfish and sordid reasons—saw fit to enforce the reformed religion on an indifferent or reluctant people. Protestantism might have prevailed, in a fair field, by the inherent power of the truth. In fact, it prevailed nowhere, except the aid of the State was invoked and secured. Political

expediency, more than religious truth, explains the progress of the reformed doctrines and practice in this State, and their extinction in that. It is noteworthy, also, that wherever the Reformation thus triumphed through State aid, it was accompanied by an intolerance hardly less oppressive than that of the Roman Church.

The reverse of the foregoing statements is also partly true. In some States the Protestant doctrine and practice might never have gained the voices of the majority, but would have won a permanent footing, if the State had been neutral. This was particularly true in France, but the Reformation there partook so much of the character of a revolt of the nobles against the crown that the State could not be expected to remain neutral. The success of a similar revolt in Scotland, in which also religious reformation was a convenient pretext, shows what the result would doubtless have been in France, if the crown had not firmly opposed the Huguenot party, and been strong enough to hold it in check, and finally to extirpate it altogether. The Reformation never showed much vitality in Spain or Italy, and the sternness of the repressive measures adopted in both countries was speedily successful. There was so little difficulty in checking attempts at reform among the Latin nations, as to raise the question whether Protestantism is a form of religion adapted to those peoples. The Roman Church won back the Slavs also. One Keltic nation was permanently

lost, but the other remained its most devoted adherent.

115. Some Permanent Results

If the Reformation was not the noble and heroic and highly religious struggle that some historians have depicted, nevertheless, many great and lasting benefits resulted. The redistribution of the wealth so long concentrated in the ownership of the Church and its orders was an economic gain by no means inconsiderable. From every country but Spain the Inquisition disappeared, with a great increase of liberty and happiness throughout Europe. The battle of civil and religious liberty had been won, though it required a century more to gather the fruits of the victory. The human mind had been freed once for all from the shackles of medieval dogma and authority. If the Renaissance was "the discovery of the world and of man," as has been said, then the Reformation was the discovery of God and the Bible. A great impetus was given to the study of the Scriptures, and the right of private interpretation had been successfully and finally asserted. It was only a question of time when still greater progress should be made in freedom of thinking and teaching. A more spiritual ideal of religion had been inculcated, and with each successive generation found a wider acceptance.

Nearly the most important result of the Reformation was the Counter-Reformation forced on the

Roman Church. Reform within the Church, without a schism in the body of Christ, had been the dream of Savonarola, and Wiclif, and Hus, and many another predecessor of Luther, but it had proved to be only a dream. The experience of centuries had demonstrated the futility of all such efforts at reform. The Lutheran schism, the almost simultaneous Zwingli-Calvinistic revolt, the secession of the English and Scotch nations from the papal authority, with the threatened loss of all Central Europe, compelled Rome to do what she would never have voluntarily undertaken. What the Council of Trent actually effected, and what it set in motion, produced a rapid and radical change in the administration of the Church. The evils that caused the assemblage of the great reforming councils no longer exist; and it now requires a vigorous use of the historic imagination to comprehend what the uproar about reform, that fills the books of the two centuries before Luther, was all about. If the Reformation had accomplished only this purification of Rome and Romanism, it would be entitled to grateful remembrance as the most effective of good among the great movements of human history.

Bibliography

Two volumes of Symonds's great work on the Renaissance are devoted to this subject, and there is an excellent little volume by Ward in the " Epochs of Church History " series. These are the only

books in English that attempt to cover the entire subject. On Loyola and the Jesuits, consult: *Manresa, or Spiritual Exercises* in many editions; Hughes, *Loyola and the Educational System of the Jesuits* (New York, 1892); Griesinger, *History of the Jesuits* (New York, 1883); McClain, *Life of Xavier* (2 vols., London, 1895). Froude's *Lectures on the Council of Trent* pretty nearly covers the whole ground, and is a most interesting book, and more trustworthy than much of his writing (Scribners, $1.50). On the Thirty Years' War, the history of Gindeley leaves little to be desired (2 vols., Putnams, $3.50), and it should be supplemented with the volume on *Gustavus Adolphus* in the "Heroes of the Nations" series. Prescott's *Philip II* is the best pertinent biography (Lippincott, $2). Weyman's *My Lady Rotha* is an excellent work of fiction illustrating this period, and Goethe's *Hermann und Dorothea* enables one to understand the feeling of the time.

The Quiz

Who was Paul III? What was the situation of the Roman Church at his election? What reforms did he undertake? What were the results of his policy? What was the Oratory of Divine Love? What two groups or parties developed in the Roman Church? Which came to control the Church and its policy? How did the Capuchins originate? What new orders were founded? How did the

oratorio (sacred music) get its name? What is the significance of this revival? Is the spiritual power of the Roman Church underestimated? What was the Society of Jesus? What were its distinctive principles? What is "probableism"? What is the Jesuit doctrine of "directing the intention"? What is their teaching about "mental reservations"? What is the ethical effect of such teachings? Where is Trent? How long was the council in session? What was its great achievement? What practical reforms did it provide for? Who revived the Inquisition? Who most effectively directed it. Where was it most efficient? What was the edict published against heresy in the Netherlands? What was the root of Protestant disunion? What was the effect of the "Ecclesiastical reservation"? How did the Thirty Years' War begin? Who saved Protestants from total defeat? What did the peace of Westphalia provide? What were the social results of the war? Describe the general character of the Reformation. What were some of its permanent results?

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